

The
American Historical Review

A NEW FRAGMENT ON LUTHER'S DEATH, WITH
OTHER GLEANINGS FROM THE AGE OF
THE REFORMATION¹

WE Americans are wont to think of the materials for the first-hand study of Old-World history as to be found only on the far side of the Atlantic. So indeed in the main they are, and so they may well remain. Yet there exists among us at least one source of gleaning which is too much overlooked. I mean the manuscript jottings on the fly-leaves and margins of our old books. May I undertake from the shelves of a single university library to illustrate their worth even to the student of the age of the Reformation?

When, a few months ago, I read with deep interest of the discovery, in an old book of the library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, of an unprinted and hitherto unknown account of the death of Martin Luther, and of its recognition by the highest authorities as the work of a contemporary and an eye-witness, Hans Albrecht, the town clerk of Eisleben, in whose house Luther died,² I was quickened to a fresh interest in these manu-

¹ The greater part of this paper was read before the American Society of Church History at its meeting in New York, December 30, 1910.

² A full account of this discovery, with a facsimile of the manuscript, is given by Professor Spaeth, its finder (alas, since June, 1910, no longer living), in last year's April issue of *The Lutheran Church Review* (Philadelphia). An article upon it had already been published by an eminent German student of the Reformation, Professor Wilhelm Walther, in the *Allgemeine Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* of February 18, 1910, and his conclusions had been confirmed by such fellow-authorities upon Luther as Professors Buchwald and Kawerau. The manuscript, more than two folio pages in length, is written upon the final fly-leaf and the back cover of an old volume of Luther's *Sommerpostille* (Wittenberg, 1544), and narrates both the death of the Reformer and the funeral ceremonies at Eisleben. That it is Hans Albrecht's autograph has not yet been established, though the legal hand lends probability to that assumption. My inquiries regarding it found Professor Spaeth no longer living, and I am indebted to the courtesy of his colleague and fellow-historian Professor Jacobs for a copy of the facsimile. He

script memoranda; but I little dreamed that so soon I could report a trifle of new evidence on precisely the same much-debated episode.

Glancing the other day over a shelf of old Bibles in the Cornell University Library, my eye lighted on a bulky folio which had hitherto escaped my notice. Drawing it out I found it a copy of Luther's German version and printed at Wittenberg by Hans Lufft in 1546, the year of the translator's death.³ Its library marks showed me that it was one of those bought in 1895 by our department of German for its study of the growth of the German language; and, as these were long retained in its private keeping, I understood why the volume now first met my eye. It was an ancient tome, still in the stamped hogskin of the sixteenth century, with one clasp yet performing its office. It had clearly seen hard usage. The title-page was missing—though carefully supplied in manuscript by some modern hand—and many of the leaves were patched or mounted. Moreover, all had evidently suffered from the binder's knife, and that before it gained its present binding; for the marginal annotations which abounded, all in sixteenth-century script, showed mutilation at top and bottom and fore-edge alike.

It was these annotations which caught my interest, and that which first tempted my study gave me at once a date. It was on the leaf following the title-page, where thrones the portrait of John Frederick of Saxony in full electoral regalia, that I read the words, dim but legible, at the right of the Elector's face:

"Ich hoff, O Herr von Sachsen,
Der Rautte-Krantz wird wider wachsen.
1548."

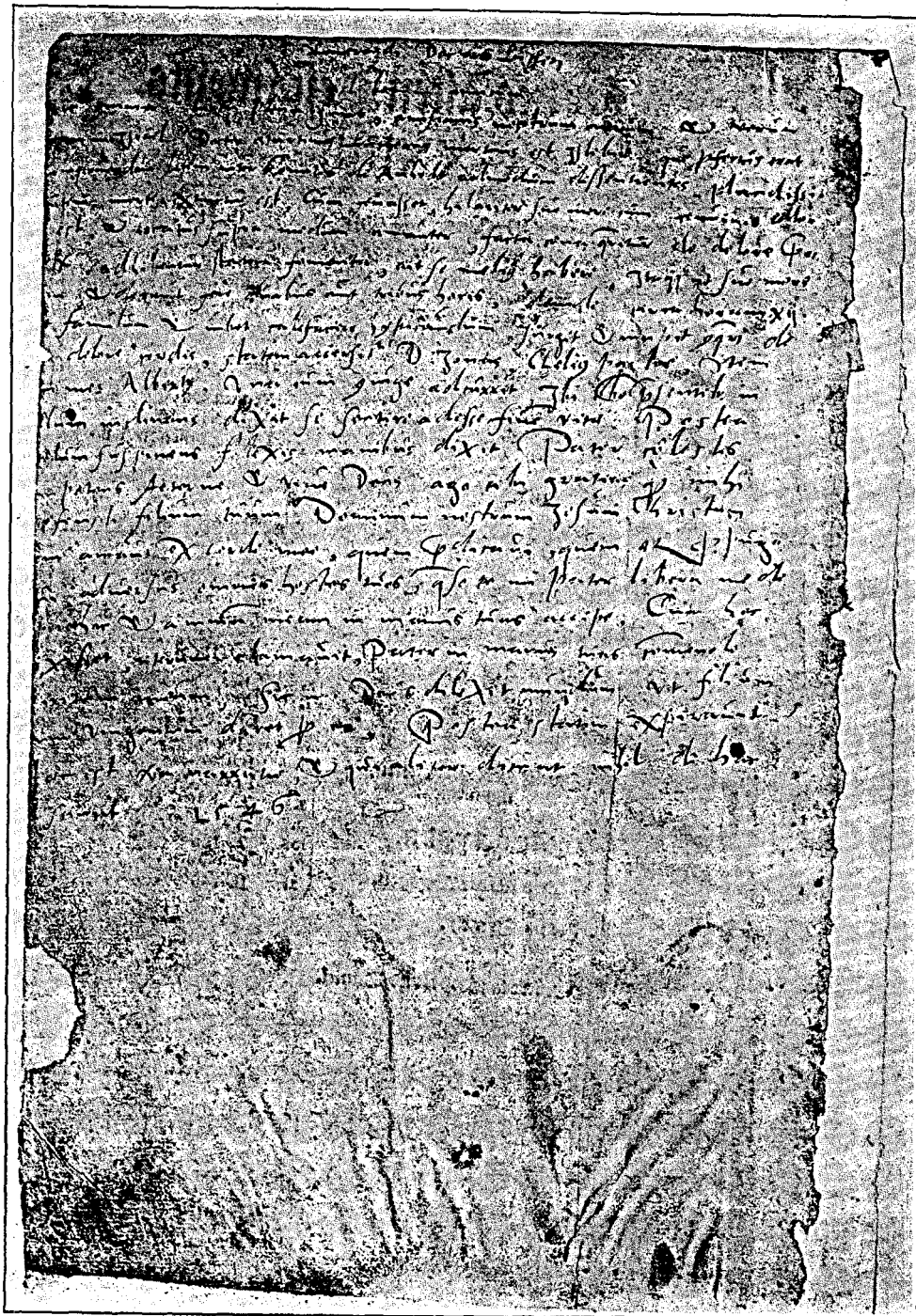
Or, in English rhyme as rude as the German,

"I hope, O Lord of Saxony,
The wreath of rue will grow again for thee.
1548."

The last figure of the date was questionable; but the wish could have been uttered only after the rout of Mühlberg, in 1547, had cost the Elector his liberty and his "wreath of rue"—ornament of the Saxon arms and emblem of the Saxon land. I turned two or three pages to another picture—that of the Creation, facing the beginning of the book of Genesis—and beneath I read these words, written by

informs me that another account of the manuscript by Professor Spaeth, with illustrative facsimiles, will be published (of course in German) in Professor Buchwald's *Luther-Kalender* for 1911.

³A description of this edition may be found at p. 689 of *Die Deutsche Bibel* (in the Weimar edition of Luther's works), where this copy is duly registered as at "Ithaca, Neu York".



A letter on Luther's death. From a blank page of a Wittenberg Bible of 1546 in the library of Cornell University.

the same hand: "Philippus Melanthon pflegt zu sagen: Genesin soll ein Prediger all monat ein mal auss lesen"—"Philip Melanchthon is wont to say that Genesis a preacher should read through once every month." "Is wont to say": our annotator, then, was his familiar, perhaps his pupil. These notes were worth a careful study; and I turned back to begin it. Yet only a single leaf: for on the blank page immediately preceding—the reverse of that enumerating the books of the Old Testament—my eye fell on a half-page and more of the same old handwriting, this time in Latin. Its top line had been cut away by the binder, leaving only the lower tips of two or three letters; and at the fore-edge the first three or four letters of each line had similarly been sacrificed. But what was left of the opening letter of the top line seemed to show it a capital E; and the letters lost at the fore-edge were suggested more or less clearly by their context. Boldly supplying therefore what is gone (but putting in brackets all my additions), I transcribe what I found:

[Epistola cujusdam de obitu]
Reverendi Doctoris Lutheri
ad bonum amicum.

Hic omnia luctu plena sunt. Amisimus nostrum currum et verum
[auri]gam in Israel: Doctor Martinus Lutherus mortuus est Islebiae,
quo profectus erat
[ad c]omponendum litem inter Comites de Anhalt admodum dissentien-
tes. Placidissi-
[me a]utem morte extinctus est. Cum coenasset, hilariter suo more cum
convivis collo-
[cutus] est, et iocatus supra modum amanter. Facta coena queritur de
dolore praeri-
[gor]osum. Adhibentur statim fomenta. Ait se melius habere. Itaque
it suo more
[cubit]um, et dormiit fere duabus aut tribus horis, deinde circa horam
xii.
[voca]t famulum et jubet calefacere hypocaustum. Surgit et incipit
conqueri de
[acri] dolore cordis. Statim accersitur D. Jonas, Chelius pastor; item
[mox] comes Albertus una cum conjuge adcurrit. Ibi omnibus praesen-
tibus in
[lect]ulum inclinans dixit se sentire adesse finem vitae. Postea
[in c]oelum suspiciens flexis manibus dixit Pater coelestis,
[om]nipotens, aeternae et vive Deus, ago tibi gratias quod mihi
[pat]efecisti filium tuum, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum,
[qu]em amavi ex corde meo, quem praedicavi, quem aliter [?] propug-
[na]vi adversus omnes hostes tuos. Quaeso te, mi pater, libera me de
[cor]pore hoc et animam meam in manus tuas accipe. Cum hoc
[d]ixisset, iterum clamavit, Pater in manus tuas commendo
[s]piritus meum. Sic enim Deus dilexit mundum ut filium
[su]um unigenitum daret pro eo. Postea statim expiravit.

Haec est vera narratio, et qui aliter dicunt nihil de hac
[re] sciunt. 1546.⁴

Or, in English:

[Letter of ——— regarding the death]
of the Reverend Doctor Luther
to a good friend.

Everything here is full of grief. We have lost our chariot and true charioteer in Israel: Doctor Martin Luther has died at Eisleben, whither he had gone to settle a dispute between the Counts of Anhalt, who were somewhat at variance. Most peacefully, however, did he meet death. While at supper he conversed gaily, as usual, with his table companions, and jested with exceptional amiability. After supper he complained of very severe pain. Poultrices were at once applied, and he said that he felt better. So he went to bed as usual, and slept some two or three hours, then about twelve o'clock called the janitor and bade him heat the sitting-room. He got up and began to complain of a sharp pain in the heart. Immediately Dr. Jonas was summoned, and Pastor Coelius; and soon Count Albert came running in, together with his wife. There, in the presence of all, lying on the couch, he said that he felt the end of his life to have come. Afterward, looking up into heaven, with folded hands, he said: "Heavenly Father, omnipotent, eternal and living God, I thank thee that thou hast manifested unto me thy son, our Lord Jesus Christ, whom I have loved from my heart, whom I have preached, whom in other wise I have championed against all thy foes. I beseech thee, my father, liberate me from this body, and into thy hands accept my soul." When he had thus spoken, he again cried out, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. For God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten son for its sake." Thereupon he forthwith gave up the ghost.

This is a true account, and whoever say otherwise know nothing about this matter.

Now it is evident that what we have here is not, like the precious narrative found by Professor Spaeth, the account of an eye-witness. The writer speaks of Luther not as having "come", but as having "gone", to Eisleben; and the phrase which he uses ("profectus erat") suggests that he writes from the place whence Luther set out—from Wittenberg. It was, of course, especially at Wittenberg that

⁴See the facsimile presented herewith. I have of course interpreted the abbreviations and taken the usual liberties with punctuation and capitals. The bracketed words are only guesses; but, with the exception of the top line, I trust they are correct. In the top line, however, what I have taken for the bottom of an initial E may belong instead to a capital L; and that the word can be *Epistola* seems almost forbidden by the presence, at about the place where the bottoms of its sixth and seventh letters should be, of two tips which look most like those of our annotator's double "s", though the first may belong to a "p" or a "q", and the second to an "f" or a single "s". These three are the only remnants of the top line left by the binder, certain other marks which at first sight seem such being, I think, only splatterings of the green dye applied by him to the edges of the volume after trimming. If what I have thought the bottom of its first letter is really so, the top line begins some three letters farther to the left than the line below it.

everything was full of grief at his death. But there is another phrase yet richer in suggestion. To the student of the occurrences at Luther's death those words about "the chariot of Israel" have a strangely familiar sound. They are of course a borrowing of the exclamation of Elisha at the fiery exit of his master Elijah;⁵ but it is not our letter alone which borrows them. When, on the morning of February 19, twenty-four hours after Luther's death, the sad news was brought to Wittenberg by the letter which Dr. Jonas had at once addressed to his colleagues there and by that which, addressed by him to the Elector at Torgau, had forthwith been forwarded by that prince, it was Philip Melanchthon who was charged with the duty of announcing it to the students and their world. At his nine o'clock lecture on the Epistle to the Romans he laid before them the crushing message, and as he finished the account he exclaimed: "Ach, obiit auriga et currus Israel."⁶ The phrase was still in his mind when, a little later that day, in the name of the university, he answered the letter of Jonas; and he wrote: "Erat ille omnino currus et auriga Israel."⁷ Nor did his students forget the striking expression. Three days later the Nuremberger Hieronymus Besold, writing to Veit Dietrich of these events, quoted Melanchthon as declaring to the students that Luther was "truly the chariot and charioteer of Israel" (vere currus et auriga Israelis);⁸ and the Carlstadter Adam Lindemann, after the lapse of a fortnight, still recalls (in a letter to his uncle, Johann Drach) how "Philip, when he announced to us Luther's departure, exclaimed: 'Ah, periit currus et auriga Israel.'"⁹

Now, it is of course possible that the writer of our letter might independently have borrowed Elisha's apostrophe, though the only man likely to borrow it, the only man whom we know to have borrowed it, was the one man who without immodesty could feel himself to stand toward Luther in the relation of Elisha to Elijah—Luther's younger coadjutor and natural successor, Philip Melanchthon. But, whoever else should borrow it, no Lutheran—and a Lutheran our letter-writer clearly is—was likely independently to borrow it in this form. "Currus Israel et auriga ejus" was indeed the reading of the Latin Vulgate and familiar to all brought up in the older church; but the critical scholarship of the sixteenth century had early substituted *equites* for *auriga*; and, as our current English versions read, not "charioteer", but "horsemen", so from the first had Martin Luther's. Even in his autograph manuscript, of 1523,

⁵ II Kings ii. 12.

⁶ *Corpus Reformatorum*, VI. 58, 59.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁸ Kawerau, *Der Briefwechsel des Justus Jonas*, II. 183.

⁹ *Beiträge zur Bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. v. Kolde, III. 274.

"*furman*" (*fuhrmann*) is stricken out and "*reutter*" (*reiter*) written above it.¹⁰ This correction resulted at first in an odd confusion, for in the earliest complete edition of his Bible (1534) one reads of the "*Furman Israel und sein Reuter*"—the "charioteer of Israel and the horsemen thereof"; but this was speedily corrected to the "*Wagen Israel und sein Reiter*", the reading of Lutheran Bibles to this day. Surely nobody at Wittenberg but Philip Melanchthon or one who caught the phrase from him would have been so bold as to use the discredited Vulgate wording.

But the writer of our letter makes the chariot and charioteer not those *of* Israel, but those *in* Israel; and, unless this be a blunder of the transcriber, the misquotation may well seem to preclude Melanchthon's own authorship of it. Yet this would be hardly a greater liberty with the phrase than he took when, in his address to the students, he added to it the words "who ruled the church in this last age of the world" or when in his letter to Jonas he added "stirred up by God to establish and purify the ministry of the Gospel". If not Melanchthon, who but one of his students could have written it?

That it was written on the very day of the receipt of the news is made probable—if the document be complete—by its brevity and by its silence as to the subsequent happenings. But we have no assurance that this transcript is complete; the abridged form of the date is one often found in an extract. Yet there is another reason, mentioned by the letter itself, why it is likely to have been promptly written. Melanchthon himself explained to his students that his grief could hardly have permitted him to make the announcement, had not others (was it the Elector perhaps who had been thus urgent?) insisted that without delay the true story of Luther's death should be laid before them, lest false reports might be spread abroad by them or gain a hearing among them. There was reason enough for the fear. Never since Lactantius gloried in the dying agonies of the persecutors had Christians been more eager to find in the death of a religious foe some token of the vengeance of Heaven. Luther himself, alas, had been only too ready to credit and spread such slanders; and his friends knew well how many enemies were expectantly awaiting the moment when they could trumpet abroad how death had brought to shame the arch-heretic himself. It is to the credit of his vigilant friends as well as to the honor of his opponents that the charges then set afloat proved on the whole so trifling. That long before a century was gone there nevertheless found currency a legend of his suicide needs no telling in the days of Majunke and Honef and Kleis; and, though the generous Catholic scholarship

¹⁰ See *Die Deutsche Bibel* (in the Weimar edition of his works), I. 199.

of a Nicolaus Paulus has found in the silence or the positive testimony of hostile contemporaries a refutation more convincing than could be furnished by the evidence of interested friends, it was the prompt energy of his friends which so long stifled or challenged the voice of slander. Yet it has puzzled me that, with all their promptness in appealing to the students not to believe or to spread a false report, there was no request for their aid in diffusing a true one. Despite this silence it could not be strange if a student felt impelled to write such a letter as ours; but is it not quite as possible that what we have here is rather a circular letter, drawn up (like so many others known to us in this age) to be sent out to more addresses than one?¹¹

But how in that case—how in any case—can this letter so long have evaded the notice of historians? I am by no means sure that it has evaded it. I can only say that I cannot find it in print. A few years ago (1907) so careful a student as Professor Kawerau, publishing in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* two more letters regarding the death of Luther as a supplement to the five he had already published there in 1881, appended a list of all the letters and accounts by contemporaries which had thus far found their way into print. Our own does not appear among them. That it should have escaped discovery is the more strange because the volume in which now I find it had earlier its home in a centre of Lutheran scholarship: the same hand which has reproduced the lost title-page has transcribed also, at the base of it, the name of an owner—the “Collegium Wengense” at Ulm. Could anything really of value to the history of the Reformation have escaped at Ulm the eyes of Veesenmeyer and of Keim? Yet one must remember that not three weeks had passed from Luther's death before there was in print that official account by the “three eye-witnesses” (Jonas, Coelius, and Auri-faber) which till the renewal of controversy in our own day has seemed to Protestants an all-sufficient source of knowledge.

And it must be confessed that for the details of Luther's end our little manuscript can have, at best, but slight historical value.¹² It

¹¹ Such a circular letter, or what seems such, the library of Cornell itself possesses—a contemporary manuscript copy (bought from the library of Knaake) of Luther's letter to the Elector Frederick, March 12, 1522, explaining his return from the Wartburg. Revised for the purpose at the Elector's wish, this letter is known to have been circulated widely.

¹² No serious addition to our knowledge of the circumstances of Luther's death is made, indeed, by the manuscript found at Mt. Airy. This adds much to what is told by the letter of Jonas, but practically nothing to the account of the three eye-witnesses. So closely, in truth, does it coincide with this latter, not only in the facts related and in their order but in the very words employed, that I cannot believe the two independent; but it is the three eye-witnesses who seem to me the

must rest, of course, on the tidings received at Wittenberg from Jonas; and, though his letter to his colleagues has since been lost, that to the Elector has been preserved and in its author's own original. Where our account differs from this it must be presumed to be at fault; and yet more surely so if it conflict with the combined memories of the three eye-witnesses. Yet as a contribution to our knowledge of the diffusion of the tidings, and as a suggestion of what may lie hidden in the scrawls on our old books, I have counted it worth reporting—and without even waiting to inquire whether Professor Nikolaus Müller has perhaps somewhere chanced on it in his gleaning of epistolary material for the great new supplement to the works of Melanchthon.

But whose was the hand that copied the letter into our old Bible? His marginal notes, though mainly but commentary, offer here and there a clue. He was a scholar and doubtless a theologian, for he writes not only German and Latin with equal ease, but now and then a passage of Greek or Hebrew. He was a Swabian, for opposite the mention of the fleece wet with dew (Judges vi. 37, 38) he has written in the margin "Die schwebischen Scheffer hayssen [s]olche Wolle ain Schepper", and opposite the simile of the children calling to their fellows "We have piped and ye have not danced" (Matthew xi. 16, 17) he tells us (if I may again guess at what the binder has cut away): "Unser kindlin [in] Schwaben singen [ei]n solch Liedlin: [E]s zannet ein [w]olff ins huttingen uff, man gab im [e]in brot, es thet [i]m nitt nott, [m]an gab im ain [gla]ss, es war im zu [spa]ss." He had been till January, 1545, at Wittenberg, and doubtless as a student; for he calls attention to the passage (John xii. 35, 36) which Dr. Luther wrote in his commonplace-book at his leaving there ("Disen sententz hat mir D. Luther in min buch geschriben anno 1545"—adding later, in a differing ink, "im jener da ich weg zoch von Witenberg") and likewise to the text (Philippians ii. 13) which Melanchthon penned for him at their leave-taking ("zur Letzte zu Witenberg Anno 45 da ich weg zoch im jener"). These annotations he had begun to make at least as early as 1548; for, where Luther in his preface to the book of Daniel asserts that Christians should pray even for tyrants, there is a marginal comment: "Nota bene contra illos qui non volunt orare pro Imperatori nostro Carolo Quinto"—to which, in a different ink, is added "qui etiam nunc papistis contra nos auxiliatur. 1548." But such refer-

borrowers—or, rather, the expanders. The resemblance between the two accounts of the death is the more striking because in the postscript of the Mt. Airy manuscript, which relates chiefly to the funeral exercises at Eisleben, there is no such resemblance to the narrative of the three eye-witnesses either in matter or in form.

ences to contemporary affairs are few. Where Zechariah prophesies the curse of the flying roll he comments, "Hie wirtt klarlich weisgesagt von dem schnöden Interims buch, so ans liecht kom[men] ist Anno 1548"; and where, in the first book of the Maccabees, it is related how Tryphon led the young king Antiochus deceitfully up and down the land until he could secretly slay him, he exclaims, "Also haben die falschen Engellender dem from[men] König Eduardo getha[n] Anno domini 1553. Der teuffel holl sie." But in the main he holds himself to exegesis, quoting often the words of Luther and Melanchthon, and sometimes (if "M. L. d." means "Martinus Lutherus dixit") from their oral teaching.

These, then, are the data. Who will guess the riddle? Many a young Swabian seems to have left Wittenberg in 1545—among them David Chytraeus, Johann Baptist Heinzel, Johann Marbach, Victorin Strigel—but whether any one of these in January I have not yet learned, and there is no reason to suppose our annotator a man of such moment.¹³

When last spring there was sold at Leipzig the rich Reformation collection of the Paris pastor, William Jackson, the library of Cornell was so fortunate as to secure a work long sought in vain—the rare original edition (1536) of the letters of Zwingli and Oecolampadius. The Jackson copy was not the less tempting because the catalogue described it as containing within the same old covers the Gospel commentary of Bucer (1530) and on the blank leaves between the two works two or three pages of manuscript in the autograph of Bucer himself. On the arrival of the volume it needed but a glance to discern that the neat handwriting of this manuscript had nothing in common with the blind script of Bucer; and a little study showed it to be but a contemporary transcript of a "Confession as to the Holy Eucharist" which was long ago printed in his *Scripta Anglicana* (1577). Yet with a difference: though the text seems the same and ends with the same solemn asseveration and date ("I, Martin Bucer, thus opine in the Lord, and in this opinion I wish to come to the tribunal of the Lord. By my own hand, 5 June, 1544.") the title runs, not "Confession of Dr. Martin Bucer as to the Holy Eucharist, publicly delivered in the school at Strassburg", but "Resolution of the faith. M. Bucer to Dr. Joseph Macarius, Hungarian" (*Resolutio fidei. M. Bucerus ad D. Josephum Macarium Ungarum*).

But before looking into the identity of Joseph Macarius a something hauntingly familiar in the neat turn of the script led me to glance instead into the *Chronicon* of that most lovable old scholar,

¹³ Nothing more is to be learned as to this from the now published *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*.

Conrad Pellican, the friend of Reuchlin and of Erasmus, of Oecolampadius and of Zwingli—for it was of his hand (familiar to me through study of his manuscripts at Zürich) that I seemed reminded. Opening, then, his chronicle in search of some clue, I was almost startled to find him relate, under the year 1544, how “on June the 13th I had as a guest that high-born and learned man Joseph the Hungarian, of Buda, . . . who for five years had studied at Wittenberg, and wished before his return to his parents to visit the churches of Germany and listen to the scholars; and, coming by way of Spire, where the Emperor was holding the Diet, to Strassburg, he conversed for several days with the brethren at Strassburg, but especially with Bucer as to the matter of the Sacrament, and from him he asked and obtained in writing an opinion regarding the Lord’s supper, which I have copied into a volume of Bucer’s commentaries on the four Gospels.” This, then, was indeed Pellican’s handwriting, and this his copy of Bucer and of the letters of his old friends the Swiss reformers. It was doubtless from this copy that, as Pellican tells us, Macarius read with interest these letters.¹⁴ Nay, but a few months earlier Pellican had recorded in his chronicle his own reading of them: “On the 5th of February I began to read the *Epistolare* of Oecolampadius and Zwingli . . . together with the most accurate and learned introduction of our Theodore” (*i. e.*, of Bibliander). Had he perhaps annotated the volume? Yes, here on the margins everywhere, but especially on the prefatory pages, were the notes of that same neat hand. Mostly, indeed, they were only a running index, such as his chronicle tells us he was wont to make in all his books; but some are comment or addition. Thus, where Myconius in his prefaced life of Zwingli narrates the events of the fatal encounter at Cappel, Pellican corrects his estimate of “less than 4500” for the number of the Zürichers to “not even 2000” (“Numero erratur. Imo ne 2000 quidem”), qualifies his mention of the soldiers’ prayers, “non sine precibus”, by an “admodum modicis”, inserts the precise hour of the morning when the fight began (“ad horam decimam”), and adds to his account of Zwingli’s dying words: “Aliter alii dicunt.”

These notes, too, may be already familiar to scholars, for the volume has not been lost all these years. The names of its owners,

¹⁴ Of Macarius, who after a week or so at Zürich set out for Constance, escorted by a notable body of his hosts—Pellican himself, Rudolf Walther, Bibliander, Froschauer the printer, and the younger Zwingli—more may be learned from a letter of Bullinger to Calvin and especially from the lately published second volume of the correspondence of the Blaurers, where, with much else relating to the winning young Hungarian, is a letter of commendation written by Bucer himself on the very same day (June 5, 1544) with his Confession as to the Eucharist.

on title-page and fore-cover, tell of a notable career. They show it to have belonged to Archdeacon Rudolf Wonlich (d. 1596), son-in-law of Léo Jud, to the great Swiss philologist Suicerus (1620-1684), who has enriched it by a note or two, to Johann Conrad Heidegger, the Zürich statesman, to Jacob Hess (1741-1828), theologian, historian, and head of the Zürich church, and to his nephew, Johann Heinrich Hess, before it became Pastor Jackson's.

This is not the only book at Cornell which once was Conrad Pellican's. A quarter-century ago I bought from a second-hand dealer at Zürich a set of the now rare original edition of the works of Zwingli. The last of its four volumes differed slightly from the rest in binding and, as I saw, did not strictly belong to the set; for it was the first impression (1539) of his commentary on the Gospels instead of the reprint of this made to complete his works, and after it, in the same covers, was bound Bullinger's commentary (1535) on the Acts of the Apostles. But that there were annotations in the volume I do not remember to have noticed until, a few years ago, when reading with a class the chronicle of Pellican, his mention of his indexing for the printer these volumes led me to fetch the books. Opening at the index this the earliest printed, my eye fell for the first time on his own name—"Con. Pell. R." (Conradus Pellicanus Rubiacensis). Turning then to the volume's second index—that to Bullinger's work—I found again, at the end of the title, written in the same hand, the initials "C. P. R." That the hand was his own I already suspected, for I knew his habit of thus writing his name; and I had soon opportunity to verify the suspicion. The book itself, indeed, offered a slight confirmation: at the foot of the title-page a hand very different from Pellican's has written "suo Ch" and there has stopped. As I look at it there rises before me the figure of Froschauer the printer (for whom the indexing was done) about to inscribe this copy to "suo Chuonrado" when the thrifty old scholar stays his hand. Is it a wild guess? Pellican wished perhaps to donate or to sell it; and that may explain why his annotations are so few. Most interesting of them, perhaps, are those pointing out (pp. 282, 283—Luke xvi) the texts of Zwingli's last sermons: "Antepenultimus sermo Zwinglii 6. octobris, feria sexta", "Penultimus sermo Z. 7. octobris Sabbato", "Ultimus sermo Zwinglii dominica die, 8. octobris 1531, qui fuit occisus 11. octobris."

Yet I must again confess that on the title-page of the first volume of the set I find the name of an owner who (if this fourth volume too was his) was little likely to overlook such treasure-trove—the Swiss church historian Kirchhofer ("M. Kirchhofer, theol. cand., 1797").

While we were that year reading the chronicle of Pellican there fell to us another discovery as startling. The old scholar, in narrating his youth, tells how he was spurred to the study of Hebrew by reading the *Scrutinium Scripturarum* of the Spanish convertite, Paul of Burgos. Reminded thus of our own copy of that work, I laid it before the class, remarking as I did so that it was old enough to be Pellican's own, having been printed by Scheffer at Mainz in the very year of his birth (1478). Led by this suggestion we looked to see what the book could tell us of its own story. From the opening fly-leaves we learned only that it had once belonged to William Henry Black—the eminent English antiquary who long was pastor of that little London congregation of Seventh-Day Baptists of which Sir Walter Besant makes such interesting use in the novel which fruited in the People's Palace—and that he had bought it, in 1849, at the sale of the library of Henry Francis Lyte, the hymn-writer; but, on turning to the end of the book, there stared at us from beneath the colophon, in a hand of not far from the year 1500, not indeed the name of Pellican himself, but that of his fellow-humanist and Rhineland neighbor, "Theodoricus Gresemundus Junior LL.D." A notable man in his day was young Dietrich Gresemund of Mainz, poet, jurist, antiquary, the pride of his old teacher Wimpfeling, who tried to make his epic on the desecrated cross a classic for the schools. But not even Wimpfeling, who, when in 1512 death snatched off his darling in early prime, poured out his soul in glowing eulogy, has told us just when this prodigy was born; and modern guessers have gone by several years asunder. Our old book does better; for, turning the leaf, we found, in the same handwriting, the inscription: "Et ego Theodoricus Gresemundt filius natus fui anno salutis 1476 in vigilia Sancti Martini hora nona ante prandium". And beneath this, in what looked like a half-completed horoscope, were the words: "Figura nativitatis, die solis qu[a]e fuit 10 Novembris 1476, hora 9. m. 10. ante meridiem quae fuit principium hor[a]e Mercurii". On Sunday, November 10, 1476, at ten minutes after nine in the morning—surely that is quite definite enough. But "Dietrich Gresemund the Younger" implies a Dietrich Gresemund the Elder. Our Dietrich's father, a great physician of those days, was indeed, like his son, a man worth knowing; but of his early years all that is told is that he came from a little Westphalian village near the town of Soest, and at his birth-year nobody seems to have guessed. Again our old book helps. In an older hand, above the lines recording his son's birth, we read: "Item anno domini M^o etc. xlvii in die Arnolphi uff eynem mytwochen strometur Soist per exercitum Theodorici archiepiscopi Coloniensis". It was perhaps the earliest event he

nullæ mentes:
 sparsim curren-
 et tantillus nu-
 or milia quina-
 ,secutus est ina-
 o. quem ut uia-
 . Manebamus
 um. Sed aliud
 or, & pie quis
 ius Evangelistæ
 i haftenus ada-
 ta sub noctem
 VIN GLIVM
 o, sed in pedes

*Nino errat Imv
 ut 2000 quiden*

ad motu. muchig

ad bona d. rima

Zuinglij cedet.

HVLDRYCHI ZVIN

OR EVANGELIA ET
 aliquot Index. *Con. poll. R.*

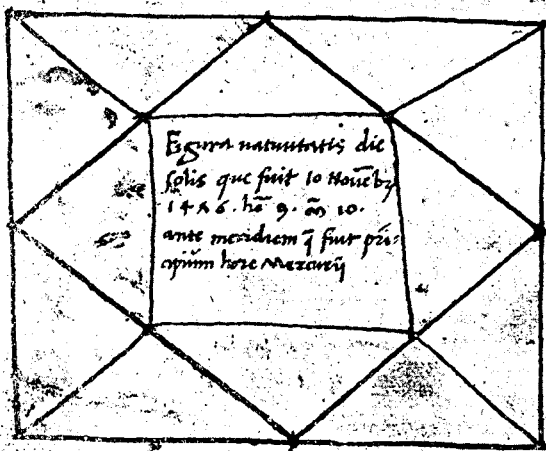
untur
 Afflictionibus suscitantur fideles

556
 37

ibus iustissimi &
 qualis & ecclesia
 : aut iustum facere
 re, longas habere
 s fuit Monachus.
 onatus uerter huc Monachus.

*Utrij strom
 3. vringly d. rima hie.
 2. octob. 1531. 7. p. m.
 orij. 11. orij.*

*H. anno d. m. 1531. plur. die annuli off. quid. m. g. m. g. m. g.
 p. m. g. m. g. p. m. g. m. g. p. m. g. m. g. p. m. g. m. g.
 H. f. m. g. m. g. p. m. g. m. g. p. m. g. m. g. p. m. g. m. g.
 Et ego Theodorus p. m. g. m. g. p. m. g. m. g. p. m. g. m. g.
 14 10 In vigilia Sancti marci h. r. n. o. m. g. p. m. g.*



Matthias Huxos philosophus professor. 1523.

could remember, this storming of Soest; for the next line reads: "Item fui natus anno domini etc. xl^{mo} in profesto trium regum"—"I was born in the year 1440 on the day before Three Kings' day" (*i. e.*, on January 5).¹⁵

Sorry gleaning this may all seem to those who know the yet unpublished wealth of Old-World libraries; but it at least suggests the guarding of our bescribbled margins and fly-leaves against the binder's renovating zeal. A single line may prove a priceless clue. At the top of the title-page of our copy of the little *Spongia* by which Erasmus sought to wash away the aspersions of Hutten (1523) is the autograph of its earliest owner: "Matthias Heros philosophiae professor, 1523". Can this be other than Matthias Held, later the great Vice-Chancellor of Charles the Fifth, of whom the biographical dictionaries can tell us nothing prior to his advent as a jurist, in 1527, at the supreme imperial court in Spire?¹⁶

GEORGE L. BURR.

¹⁵ How large the share of father as well as son in the German revival of learning, has lately been shown by Bauch, the foremost living student of that movement, in his study on humanism at Mainz (1907), and Löffler in editing (1908) the long unpublished work of Hamelmann on the illustrious men of Westphalia has thrown fresh light on their origin and their activities; but neither could give with exactness the dates of their birth.

¹⁶ Facsimiles of annotations from each of the volumes described above are given in a second plate, with some hope that they may help in the identification of other annotations by these scholars.

THE LITERATURE OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, II.

NEXT in general interest to narratives compiled by those who have taken personally an active part in a campaign, and not inferior professionally, are the official reports of military attachés whose duty it has been to follow in the field the fortunes of the contending armies. The linguistic limits of this review confine our notice of this type of authorities to two groups, the narratives and observations of American and British officers. The former were published to the world by the General Staff of the United States Army in 1906-1907. The British War Office placed the reports of British officers at the disposal of the general public two years later.¹

Both these sets of reports cover much the same ground, representatives from the American and British armies having joined the contending forces almost simultaneously. Collectively, they present a mine of accurate information to the historian and professional student. The criticisms recorded cannot of course be accepted as final, having necessarily been written on somewhat imperfect information; yet however much the horizon may have been obscured by the smoke of battle, observations jotted down while the pungent odor of gunpowder is still in the nostrils are primary evidence not to be lightly set on one side.

It would be as invidious as it is unnecessary to weigh these official reports one against another, but it is not too much to say that to the British officers at any rate both sets have proved a great help in their professional studies. The steady progress made during the last five years in the training of British troops owes very much both to the compilers of these volumes and to the Japanese and Russian authorities who gave generous facilities for their compilation.

With the volumes issued by the British War Office it is not proposed to deal in detail, but it may be permitted to express the

¹*Reports of Military Observers attached to the Armies in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War*, parts I., II., III., IV., V. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1906, 1907); *Reports from British Officers attached to the Japanese and Russian Forces in the Field*, in three volumes with two cases of maps (London, printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1908); *Medical and Sanitary Reports from Officers attached to Japanese and Russian Forces in the Field* (printed as above, 1908).

hope that they will be judged worthy to find a place in American professional libraries. Of the reports rendered by the United States observers, those of two officers in particular, Captain Karl Reichmann, 17th Infantry, and Major Joseph E. Kuhn, Corps of Engineers, strike the English reader as being of very special value. Captain Reichmann's observations on the operations of the Russian army with which he served for some eight months, from April to December, 1904, enhance the reputation he won as a shrewd and just military critic during the South African War. Major Kuhn gives us the best professional reports on the siege of Port Arthur yet published in the English language; moreover, his clear narrative is garnished with an abundance of valuable technical details and with many sound strategical and tactical comments. Strategically Major Kuhn holds that

although Port Arthur had ultimately to surrender, as will be the case with any fortress, it yet paid for itself many times over by neutralizing for five months an entire Japanese army and the entire Japanese fleet. . . . The time thus gained proved invaluable to the Russians. . . . Had the defense of the fortress been conducted a little more energetically the first results might have been materially different.

In substance, it will be noticed, these views agree with those of Sir William Nicholson, already quoted on pp. 520, 521, above.

Major Charles Lynch's account of the medical and sanitary arrangements of the Japanese army (part IV. of the United States Observers' *Reports*) may also be commended for careful study by all staff as well as medical officers.

The literature of this war has produced three really fascinating books, each of a distinctive character as regards authorship, matter, and subjective treatment. Two of these books, *Rasplata* and *Human Bullets*, we have already discussed. The third is without doubt the *Scrap-Book* which General Sir Ian Hamilton, the second senior of the British military attachés, was permitted to publish in addition to his official report.² Sir Ian joined Kuroki's army at Feng-huang-cheng in May, 1904, accompanied its fortunes as it forced its way through the mountain passes, was present at the severe fights of Chiao-tou, Mo-tien-ling, Yu-shu-ling, and Yang-tzu-ling, watched closely the eleven days' battle of Liaoyang, and remained with Kuroki's quarters until after the fierce struggle of the Sha-ho, when General Hamilton was recalled home to take up an important command in the south of England. In the preface to his first volume Sir Ian modestly calls his book "impressions, snapshots, by-products", and points out that it is impossible to evolve

² Lieutenant-General Sir Ian Hamilton, *A Staff Officer's Scrap-Book during the Russo-Japanese War* (two volumes, London, 1905, 1907).

out of facts "fresh from the mint of battle" an account "which is either well balanced or exhaustive". His snap-shots need no *apologia*. A frank daily personal diary written while attached to the headquarters of an army engaged in highly important operations by an officer of General Hamilton's high rank and great experience could not fail to be vastly interesting to soldiers, but when the writer combines with his war experience and professional knowledge keen powers of observation, a sense of humor, a shrewd judgment of character, and an easy attractive pen, a true picture is presented of modern war and of a modern national army which both is in itself in a real sense historical and yet presents invaluable material for the making of history.

Perhaps the most fascinating and the most valuable feature of these volumes is the close personal view they give of the Japanese generals and staff, loyal to superiors and colleagues, confident in their troops, quiet and self-reliant at the most critical moments, reserved and taciturn while victory is in doubt, frank when victory has been attained, doing their work ever with a selfless devotion to their emperor and nation, which seems incapable of contamination with even a grain of personal ambition or personal jealousy. The Japanese officer, as depicted by Sir Ian Hamilton, presents indeed a noble figure, and yet it is evident that when the painter commenced his work, he was not wholly free from that bias in favor of his own race which characterizes those who have served long in the East, and was quite prepared to criticize freely. It was only after months of close contact with the Mikado's soldiers, after watching them tried and tested in the fiery furnace of war, that the British general saw "clearly the warrior spirit of Japan as it emerged triumphant from the bloody tumult". But the *Scrap-Book* has attained such a wide circulation and popularity that it is superfluous to dwell on its merits; the recent appearance of editions in German, French, and Russian is sufficient evidence of its value.

Sir Ian Hamilton's work terminates our list of purely evidential literature published in the English language.

Before passing on to the small but growing group of historical works, it may be as well to refer briefly to the professional treatises partially historical but in the main critical, which have been written by soldiers to enable soldiers to absorb readily the lessons of this great campaign. A few examples of these must suffice. Perhaps the most notable is the translation of the series of articles published by General de Négrier, late inspector-general of the French army, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.³ The views of so distin-

³ General F. O. de Négrier, *Lessons of the Russo-Japanese War* (London, 1906), translated by E. Louis Spiers.

guished an officer must of necessity carry great weight. It is therefore of special interest to find that in the matter of cavalry tactics de Négrier, while laying stress on the paramount need for encouraging the offensive spirit of that arm and for concentrating it for use on the actual battle-field, joins direct issue with the Continental school, which still pins its trust mainly on the *arme blanche*.

Fighting on foot [he tells us] . . . has now become essential. . . . The urgent question at the present moment is therefore how to convert our cavalry from their inveterate faith in traditional evolutions and the obsolete shock-tactics of the last century. . . . Our methods of warfare must be changed. In fighting on foot, whenever necessary, our cavalry must determine once for all to make as clean a sweep of the enemy as it did in the most brilliant days of the old knee-to-knee charge.

With the hope of carrying out this change of ideas and of adapting cavalry to the requirements of modern war General de Négrier would remove all the minor distinctions of dragoons, lancers, hus-sars, etc., and amalgamate the whole arm into one force, adding to its equipment a bayonet to be attached to the sword scabbard, and attaching two machine guns to each squadron, and two batteries of pom-poms and a battery of large calibre howitzers to the cavalry division. These recommendations will, it is to be anticipated, be long opposed by the intense conservatism with which European cavalry is impregnated, a conservatism which, as has been its wont in the past, rejects the lessons of each successive modern campaign as "abnormal" and still turns for its inspiration to the battle-fields of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But that the conception of the true power of cavalry put forward by de Négrier is sound, it is difficult to controvert in view of the hard facts of the Franco-German War, of the South African War, and of the Manchurian battle-fields.

As regards the general tactics of the three arms it is important to note that the late inspector-general of the French army emphatically rejects that cult of positions which proved fatal to France in 1870. "The Russo-Japanese War", he declares, "has demonstrated yet once again that by offensive tactics alone can victory be assured."

In his *Lectures on the Strategy of the Russo-Japanese War*⁴ Major Bird, late professor of the Indian Staff College, presents to the military student a valuable summary of the strategical movements and much thoughtful criticism. His condemnation, however, of converging strategy as "most risky" and as affording the opponent an opportunity of beating the advancing columns in detail

⁴ Brevet-Major W. D. Bird, *Lectures on the Strategy of the Russo-Japanese War* (London, 1909).

is much open to dispute. The question is too large and too technical for discussion here, but it may be permitted to point out that three great modern campaigns, 1866, 1870, and 1904, tend to controvert such teaching, and that although in the Napoleonic wars, when tactical conditions were other than those now prevailing, great converging movements ended at times disastrously, yet Napoleon himself employed, notably in 1805, this very form of strategy with astounding success.

An interesting example of that deep-rooted conservatism, to which reference has been already made, is to be found in Count Gustav Wrangel's memoir on *The Cavalry in the Russo-Japanese War*.⁵ Count Wrangel adheres to the time-worn theory that cavalry which seeks salvation with the rifle loses its offensive spirit, an argument which if pushed to its logical consequence leads to the amazing conclusion that it is impossible for infantry to assume the offensive. Yet later he weakens as to this dogma by admitting that in future wars the use of cavalry dismounted will be "so to say our daily bread", and even preaches that good cavalry must learn in peace time "to feel at home in the firing line". Count Wrangel lays stress very justly on the importance of the reconnaissance duties of cavalry, yet he somewhat fails to grasp the grave difficulties with which they are circumscribed under the conditions of modern war, and the vital need for an efficient intelligence department.

An anonymous German writer, "Asiaticus", in his *Reconnaissance in the Russo-Japanese War* avoids this error.⁶ His historical examples are culled with judgment. The criticisms thereon are those of a student who seeks not to bolster up preconceived theories, but to wrest from the facts of a campaign the principles and methods by which success can be attained under modern conditions. His deductions, therefore, are marked with commendable moderation and hold an even balance between the extreme rifle and *arme blanche* schools of thought. As regards reconnaissance "Asiaticus" devotes a chapter to espionage, and points out that the Japanese experiment of combining infantry with cavalry for reconnoitring and screening duties produced good results.

We have discussed earlier in this review the narratives of press correspondents in the field. Important organs of public opinion are not, however, content with merely laying before their readers the

⁵ Count Gustav Wrangel (Austrian cavalry), *The Cavalry in the Russo-Japanese War; Lessons and Critical Considerations*, translated from the German by J. Montgomery, Lieutenant 3rd Hussars (London, 1907).

⁶ "Asiaticus", *Reconnaissance in the Russo-Japanese War*, translated from the German by J. Montgomery, Lieutenant 3rd Hussars (London, 1908).

despatches of their representatives at the seat of war, but expound these despatches and the news emanating from other sources by such criticisms and summing up of the situation as will enable readers to follow the course of the campaign intelligently. The duty of writing from time to time these appreciations, and making forecasts on necessarily imperfect information, is a difficult task. It demands sound knowledge of military service, a trained judgment, assiduous study, and a natural gift for piercing the fog of war. Of all the writers who attempted this task during the Russo-Japanese campaign the military correspondent of the *Times* was pre-eminently the most successful, a success in which both the Staff College and the Military Intelligence Department may take pride, seeing that Colonel Repington is a distinguished alumnus of both those establishments. His articles, though written under the trying conditions and limitations of work for a daily paper, are too valuable to be lost to permanent literature, and the author was therefore well advised to revise and collate them under the title of *The War in the Far East*.¹ He offers this work as a preliminary study of the campaign, and maintains that an account written as this was from day to day

and thus preserving contemporary color, warmth, and even partisanship, might serve as a useful reminder that those who direct armies and fleets have to deal with a number of factors of which history sometimes takes insufficient account, and that, in relation to the intentions and proceedings of the enemy, these leaders have largely to rely upon intuition and judgment, and have rarely before them all those nicely tabulated facts and certainties which are at the disposal of the ultimate historian when the latter distributes praise and blame.

The claim is made good. Colonel Repington presents in this book an admirable study of the war as a series of contemporary events. Some of his chapters are purely historical, but others, and these perhaps the most valuable, are just such critical appreciations of strategic situations as a chief of the staff would lay before his general. The maps bound up with the book are worthy of the letterpress. The views expressed in the chapter entitled The Entanglement of Port Arthur as to the uselessness of fortified naval bases are not, it is true, those usually accepted by strategists, but in every other respect this work has much added to its author's high reputation as a writer and military thinker.

It is a natural law that the history of great events demands a long period of gestation. Works claiming the name of histories were, it is true, published before even the smoke of the Russo-Japanese campaign had cleared from the horizon, but the text of such

¹ *The War in the Far East*, by the Military Correspondent of the *Times* (London, 1905).

books is built up obviously from snippings of newspapers and is valueless historically, although their illustrations are often amusing and occasionally of some interest.⁸ But for the generating of full and accurate historical records of the gigantic struggle between the Czar's and the Mikado's armies, the five years which have elapsed since the last shot was fired are all too short. Nevertheless, some progress has been made and the work goes forward hopefully. The first and earliest history, which may be studied with advantage, is a useful examination of the diplomatic struggle which led up to the outbreak of hostilities, written by Dr. K. Asakawa and entitled *The Russo-Japanese Conflict*.⁹ The strategy of a campaign is often entirely based on its political causes, and is invariably influenced if not dominated by the political goals towards which the efforts of the respective adversaries are directed. Thus it is essential for the military as well as the general reader to master the national and political aspirations which have led to an appeal to arms before entering on a study of the actual operations of war. Dr. Asakawa's volume, although in part written originally in the form of articles for the *Yale Review* at the commencement of the war, throws valuable light on these points. He quotes copiously from the more important of the diplomatic despatches and discusses their bearing in an impartial spirit. His book, therefore, forms a fair and intelligent introduction to the campaign and should not be neglected.

Of the campaign proper only two histories have as yet appeared in the English language, that written partly by the General Staff of the British Army and partly by the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence, and that put forth by the Historical Section of the German General Staff and subsequently translated by Lieutenant Karl von Donat.

Both these works still await completion, the battles of Liaoyang and the Sha-ho being the final points as yet reached. The British *Official History*¹⁰ is, excepting reports of minor expeditions, only the

⁸ As typical examples may be quoted: (a) *The Russo-Japanese War fully illustrated* (Tokio, The Kinkodo Publishing Company, 1904-1905); (b) *Cassell's History of the Russo-Japanese War* (London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne, 1905).

⁹ K. Asakawa, *The Russo-Japanese Conflict: Its Causes and Issues*, with an introduction by Professor Frederick Wells Williams (Boston and New York, 1904).

¹⁰ *The Russo-Japanese War*, part I., compiled by the General Staff War Office (London, 1906); *Official History of the Russo-Japanese War*, part II., from the Battle of the Yalu to Liaoyang, prepared by the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence (London, 1908); part III., The Siege of Port Arthur, part IV., Liaoyang, and part V., Sha-Ho, prepared and published as above (1909, 1909, and April, 1911); *Official History (Naval and Military) of the Russo-Japanese War*, vol. I., to 24th August, 1904, prepared and published as above (1910).

second attempt on the part of the British authorities to promote the study of war by the production of an authorized narrative of a campaign. The preparation of the first—the *History of the South African War*—was, it will be recollected, entrusted to Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice. At the last reorganization of the War Office the formation of an Historical Section of the General Staff was mooted, and, probably with that idea in view, the General Staff itself took in hand the compilation of the first volume of a provisional military history of the Russo-Japanese War. Subsequently, however, the government decided to assign the duty of compiling official histories for both naval and military services to an Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

This section at present consists of an officer of the Royal Marines, two General Staff officers, and a third military officer. Since its organization some three years ago it has not only continued the provisional military history of the Russo-Japanese War by bringing out in succession parts II., III., IV., and V. of that work, but has also put forth the first volume of a combined *Naval and Military History*. Of these two works the latter, although chronologically as yet the less advanced towards completion, includes and supercedes the former. The provisional military history, written as it was to meet pressing educational requirements, is much to be commended for its clearness of narrative and the excellence of its maps. A preface to one of its volumes tells us that "in accordance with the wishes of the General Staff all comments, except upon a few tactical details, are withheld until the production of the combined history".

Presumably, therefore, (although the actual preface of the first volume of the combined history runs in the name, not of the Historical Section, but of the Committee of Imperial Defence itself), the military criticisms which the volume contains have been penned, or at least approved, by the great General Staff at the War Office; while the naval criticisms, we may conjecture, are not so much the work of Mr. Asquith and his political colleagues on the Defence Committee, as of the Senior Naval Lord, the Naval Intelligence Department, and perhaps the Naval War College Staff. If this be so it is perhaps to be regretted that a positive statement to that effect is not appended to the work.

The Committee of Imperial Defence is an excellent organization for the deliberate personal consultation of the responsible ministers of the Crown with their expert naval and military advisers on questions of naval or military policy; but it is obvious that the opinion of a committee, so composed, on professional questions of

a purely naval or military character, cannot have the same authoritative weight as the direct utterances of the Admiralty and of the General Staff.

Yet this suggestion must not be taken as a criticism of a really admirable work, the excellence of which is a matter for great thankfulness and congratulation in both services. The compilers have, be it noted, enjoyed very unusual advantages. The preface of the combined history tells us that its proofs were "very carefully revised at Tokio both in the Admiralty and War Office", and that "much useful information has been also supplied by the Historical Section of the War Office at St. Petersburg". As a result of this generous assistance the accuracy of the work is above criticism. Moreover, it gives to the world hitherto unpublished documents of great historic value, notably certain correspondence which took place between Kuropatkin and Stoessel at the commencement of the war, and a very important telegram despatched from Tokio, arresting the advance northward of Oyama's armies at the critical period, when a sortie of the Russian fleet from Port Arthur was still possible.

Even therefore in its military narrative the combined history somewhat supplements the provisional military history, while reproducing its maps and retaining the admirable lucidity of its text. The naval narrative, and the naval and military comments, are wholly new matter, and their value can be best assessed by stating that they entirely maintain the high standard of the old.

The dominant note of the comments, both naval and military, is the inculcation of that offensive spirit which, traditional for two centuries in the navy, has of late years been unreservedly accepted by the authorities of the British army. To discuss these comments in detail here is not possible. It must suffice to say that if the two subsequent volumes equal the first in merit, this work will be of very great permanent value, and will fill worthily its honorable position of the first combined history of a great modern campaign in which the land and sea services were mutually and vitally dependent on each other.

The German official history¹¹ deals in the main only with the military aspects of the war, and thus lacks the completeness which characterizes the English. National preparation in peace for war,

¹¹ *The Russo-Japanese War: the Yalu* (London, 1908); *id.*, *Wa-Fau-Yen, and Actions preliminary to Liaoyang*, with four appendices and eleven maps (1909); *id.*, *The Battle of Liaoyang*, with ten appendices and ten maps (1909); prepared in the Historical Section of the German General Staff; authorized translation by Karl von Donat, late Lieutenant 33rd (East Prussian) Fusilier Regiment, German Army.

and both in peace and war a whole-hearted cultivation of the spirit of offence, have long formed the basis of the German naval and military systems. The German General Staff's masterly comments are written throughout with this in mind. They make it clear that the initial weakness of Russia was due to lack of adequate preparation, and they emphasize, moreover, a point which is not fully realized in the United States or Great Britain, that national armies are seriously handicapped in morale, when committed to a war which is unpopular with the nation.

Yet these were not the sole causes of Russia's misfortunes. The German critics are right in holding that on the Yalu "the attack of the Russians suffered from a certain want of decision", and that "during the whole war the Russians' conduct of operations was doomed never to find a right way out of the partially self-imposed defensive attitude". These criticisms are applied in a particularly striking manner to Stackelberg's attempt to relieve Port Arthur. The majority of military writers have branded that enterprise as doomed from the outset to failure, and as an illustration of the fatal influence of the St. Petersburg arm-chair strategists over the operations of the Russian armies in the field. Not so the German Staff; they hold that

if the Russian troops had been more thoroughly trained, and if Stackelberg had been reinforced by another division, which was certainly possible, it was not at all unlikely that the enterprise would prove successful. Though it would have been only a local success as regards the general situation, yet even such a success would have been of inestimable moral value after all the reverses the Russian armies had sustained. . . . The pernicious half-hearted decision of the Commander-in-chief impressed its stamp upon Stackelberg and upon his subordinate leaders.

Liaoyang is regarded as the true decisive battle of the war. For the German General Staff point out that

the knowledge that Kuropatkin, in spite of the numerical superiority of his troops, failed to turn the fortune of battle in his favour on a field he himself had selected . . . deprived from the outset the great "offensive" afterwards of all its vigour, and during the last phase of the campaign . . . gave rise to no other thought than mere defensive. It was not at Mukden and Tsushima that the Russians lost the campaign—they lost it already at Liaoyang.

The narrative portion of these three volumes is in no way inferior to the comments, and the admirable maps are worthy of the text. But the English reader has just grounds for complaint on one point. In order to avoid redrawing the maps, foreign spelling of the names of places is adhered to throughout in both maps and text. Chinese names are difficult to remember and grapple with

under the most favorable conditions, but when reproduced in a form of spelling entirely different to that with which one has become familiar after brain-racking labor, their effect is, to put matters mildly, peculiarly disheartening.

Pending the completion of these two General Staff histories, the English translation of the narratives of the battles of the Sha-ho and of Mukden published in the *Militär Wochenblatt* will be found helpful, especially as the value of these two narratives is greatly enhanced by the addition to them of clear comments by Lieutenant-General von Caemmerer.¹² The most striking of that well-known military writer's observations is a criticism of the Japanese Great General Staff's plans at Mukden as lacking in boldness. It was not enough in the eyes of General von Caemmerer that Marshal Oyama, with only equal numbers and greatly inferior artillery, committed his armies to a double enveloping attack on an enemy holding a position more strongly entrenched than Wellington's lines at Torres Vedras. It was not enough that he launched his whole force into that attack, save only one and a half divisions kept at the outset under his own hand, as a little rallying point in the case of misfortune. In von Caemmerer's judgment nothing, not one man, should have been withheld from the great stake. He would have assigned the General Reserve, diminutive though it was, at once "to the army, where the decision was sought for"; so, "victory would have been Oyama's a whole week sooner and with more decisive results".

The criticism is a true breath of the spirit of modern war. To the strategist and tactician the great lesson of the Manchurian Campaign is the overwhelming value of the whole army, from general to private, being permeated with offensive purpose, with the fixed determination to win by attacking. A policy of masterly retreat spells masterly failure. Victory alone can justify and compensate for the immense sacrifices of men and money which a nation makes when it commits its cause to the bloody arbitrament of war. Yet victory ever shuns the embraces of troops taught to look back over their shoulders.

But for the two great Anglo-Saxon communities, east and west of the Atlantic, so proud and confident in their population, in their wealth, and in their mighty possessions, the Manchurian Campaign sounds also another and even graver note of warning, the warning that the richest and seemingly the most powerful states

¹² *The Battle of the Scha Ho*, with nine maps and three appendices; authorized translation by Karl von Donat, late Lieutenant 33rd (East Prussian) Fusilier Regiment, German Army (London, 1906); *The Battle of Mukden*, with eight maps and two appendices; authorized translation by Karl von Donat (London, 1906).

may meet with sudden and deep humiliation, if national preparation for defence is neglected, and the spirit of self-sacrifice for the national good subordinated to the desire for individual comfort, individual ease, and so-called individual freedom. The evil effect of pure individualism is, we may gladly admit, more and more fully recognized by Anglo-Saxon democracies as regards the internal life of a nation, but it is still obstinately ignored as regards its external relations, especially and above all as regards the duty of that personal military service, upon the performance of which the continuance of the existence of the nation may depend.

A BRITISH OFFICER.

ADDENDUM

The articles concluded above, by a British military officer of high rank, having been confined to the consideration of books printed, either originally or as translations, in the English language, effort has been made to supplement them by such information as American readers are likely to desire, concerning the most important of those books which at present exist only in Japanese and Russian.

I.

By the kindness of Lieutenant-Colonel Kazutsugu Inouye, I. J. A., and of Commander Tokutaro Hiraga, I. J. N., Military and Naval Attachés respectively to the Imperial Japanese Embassy in Washington, the managing editor is able to add the following notes respecting the Japanese publications upon the great war.

1. It was the custom of the imperial government, for the information of the general public, to publish after each battle or important military operation an official report which, while naturally not disclosing data regarded as confidential, could be relied upon to be correct so far as it went. These reports were presently made up into four thin volumes, printed in Japanese, under a title which may be translated *Collection of Official Reports on the Russo-Japanese War*, and published in Tokyo by Shinbashido-Shoten.

2. The reports from the front by correspondents who were allowed to accompany the Japanese armies were subjected to an inspection which, while it resulted in the withholding of certain information, at any rate gave guarantees against amateurish errors. A series of these, in twenty-four small volumes, under a title which may be translated *Stories of the Russo-Japanese War*, has been published in Tokyo by Hakubunkan, and is perhaps the best of the unofficial or publishers' histories of the war.

3. The General Staff of the Japanese army has in preparation a work much more important than these, called *The History of the Russo-Japanese War (Army)*, which will be chiefly documentary in character, will extend to about fourteen volumes, and will probably begin to appear at some time in 1911.

4. Meanwhile publication of *The Naval History of the Russo-Japanese War*, prepared by the Naval General Staff, has already begun by the issue in 1909 of three octavo volumes of narrative text (Tokyo, Shunyodo), embracing many illustrations and excellent maps. This work, which is now being translated into English, will be completed by the addition of four more volumes consisting chiefly of documents. As no war correspondents were allowed upon the Japanese ships, this official history of course stands alone.

5. Without knowledge of Japanese, students and readers may derive great enjoyment from inspection of *The Russo-Japanese War: taken by the Photographic Department of the Imperial Headquarters* (Tokyo, K. Ogawa, or the agents Kelly and Walsh, 1904), published in about twenty quarto parts, each containing about twenty-eight large and fine photographs of war scenes and operations.

II.

A similar statement respecting untranslated Russian works upon the military history of the war having been requested of Colonel Baron de Bode, I. R. A., Military Attaché to the Imperial Russian Embassy in Washington, he has been so kind as to provide, after consultation with authorities on this subject in St. Petersburg, the following notes upon such works—notes supplementary to the article printed above.

1. *The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905*, written by the special War History Board of the General Staff. (St. Petersburg, 1910.)

This work is strictly official and documentary. It embraces the whole *land* campaign and contains the description of military operations, of the organization of the bases, and of all the logistical and administrative measures taken during the different periods of the war. The work gives only facts without criticisms. It consists of nine "volumes", published in fifteen parts. The work is very voluminous, some of the parts having as many as 800 pages, with more than 2400 words on each page. The appendix contains more than five hundred maps, plans, etc.

2. *History of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905*, written at the request of the Board of Directors of the Society of Students of Military Science by A. N. Vinogradsky.

The first volume of this work was honored with a prize by the

Scientific Board of the Imperial Nicolas War Academy of St. Petersburg (War College). The whole work will consist of four volumes of about 1000 pages each (more than 2000 words on each page) and about 100 maps and plans printed in several colors. The history is strictly based on facts. Much place is given to the operations of the Japanese. The military operations of both sides are combined together and worked out in one common narrative. The different events are discussed from a critical point of view. The author has had access to all the inedited archives of the society mentioned. Volumes I. and II. have already appeared, in 1908 and 1910 respectively. Volume III. will appear shortly, and volume IV. in the autumn, which will give a full description of the war. The work deals mostly with military operations on land; the naval operations, administration, and logistics are only approached. The siege of Port Arthur will appear, if circumstances favor, in the form of a fifth volume.

3. *The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905*, written by A. Svetchin. (St. Petersburg, 1910.) This volume, based on official data of the work of the War History Board and other sources, is a private publication which in 400 pages gives a concise history of the whole campaign, together with a criticism of the different events.

4. *The Russo-Japanese War*. Lectures on the subject in the Nicolas Academy of the General Staff (War College). (St. Petersburg, 1906-1907.) Collection of narratives of the principal events of the war.

All four of the works named above comprise the history of the whole war. The following works deal with particular periods and reflect the subjective impressions of their authors.

5. Galkine, *The Four Days' Battle of the Second Manchurian Army at Heigoutai-Sandepou*. (St. Petersburg, Berezovsky, 1910; about 350 pages.) This is a very valuable work and written in a very thorough manner. The book is accompanied by many maps and plans.

6. A. von Schwarz and G. Romanovsky, *The Defense of Port Arthur*. (St. Petersburg, 1908, two volumes.) The work is fundamental; it is well published.

7. *Narrative of the Military Operations of the Armies of Manchuria around Moukden from February 4/17 to March 4/17, 1905*. (Moskow, 1907, four large volumes.) Based on official sources and original documents, and written, by order of the late Commander-in-Chief, Aide-de-Camp General Kouropatkin, by the Quartermaster Department of the Headquarters Staff.

8. M. Groolev, *At Headquarters and on the Fields of the Far East*. (Two volumes.)

9. K. Droujinin, *Reminiscences of an Officer who took part in the War*.

10. *Id.*, *The Operations and Combat of Bensichoo*.

11. L. N. Sobolev, *The Strategy of General Kouropatkin (Sha-ho and Moukden)*.

12. E. I. Martinoff, *The Combat at Liandiansian and the Battle of the Sha-ho*.

13. *Id.*, *Reminiscences of a Regimental Commander*.

All these last books are evidently more or less subjective, though in parts they are based on documents. Nevertheless they help to illuminate events.

14. *Annals of the Russo-Japanese War*. Edited by Colonel Doubensky in the form of a weekly magazine with excellent illustrations, published in handsome form.

15. The work of the Naval General Staff giving a full description of the naval operations of the war will appear not before this autumn or rather the spring of 1912. The work is to be very thorough and exhaustive.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SECRETARYSHIP OF THE INTERIOR

THE secretaryship of the Interior established in 1849¹ is the last of the principal administrative offices which went back for its inception to the notable decade of 1780-1790—the epoch during which the Constitution was drawn up and ratified. The particular circumstance which forced the need of its establishment on Congress was the enormous burden of work that rested on the shoulders of the Secretary of the Treasury, a burden partly due to the war with Mexico which involved such resulting acquisitions of territory by the United States as New Mexico and California. Then too the Oregon country, added in 1846 by treaty, brought additional administrative burdens.

Although the ideal which the statute of 1849 made effective was considerably older, the statute itself was the indirect result of suggestions on the part of presidents, statesmen, and others familiar with administrative needs, which had been expressed from time to time since the days of Madison's presidency.

I.

When Pelatiah Webster printed his remarkable pamphlet in 1783 entitled *A Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the Thirteen United States of North-America*, he then proposed in his scheme of government that there should be a "Secretary of State", an official who, as he phrased his thought, "takes knowledge of the general policy and internal government. . . . I mention a *Secretary of State*", he added, "because all other nations have one . . . the multiplicity of affairs which naturally fall into his office will grow so fast, that I imagine we shall soon be under necessity of appointing one."² Four years later, in his project of a Council of State presented to the Philadelphia Convention, Gouverneur Morris arranged for a secretary of domestic affairs whose business it should be to "attend to matters of general policy, the state of agriculture and manufactures, the opening of roads and navigations and the

¹ *Statutes at Large*, 395 ff., March 3, 1849.

² *Essays* (Philadelphia, 1791), pp. 213-214. First printed at Philadelphia and published February 16, 1783.

facilitating communications through the United States".³ Likewise in his plan of government for France drawn up a few years after 1787, Morris made provision for a "Minister of the Interior".⁴ In fact the conception of some such administrative official, however crudely or variously expressed, was perfectly familiar to the epoch. Charles Pinckney's *Observations* contained references to a Home Department. Pinckney expressed himself as convinced of "the necessity which exists at present, and which must every day increase, of appointing a Secretary for the Home Department", and apparently he meant that such an officer should be made a member of the Cabinet council.⁵ Madison was popularly considered in the autumn of 1788 as the right sort of man to be placed in charge of a Home Department under the Constitution should Congress decide to provide for such an organization.⁶ And in the early summer of 1789, during the course of the debates on the proper number and arrangement of departments, Representative John Vining of Delaware was the leading figure to propose and urge the establishment of a "Domestic" department.⁷

Congress was not inclined to establish an independent Home Department, but it could not escape altogether the force of sentiment and the arguments in favor of the suggested department, and accordingly provided a combination of the duties of a Home Department with those of Foreign Affairs. In other words it substituted a Department and Secretary of State in place of its first intention, a Department and Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

In the winter of 1789-1790 while Jefferson was hesitating about accepting the appointment as Secretary of State, he gave as one reason for hesitation his objection to having domestic as well as foreign business to attend to. Jefferson confided the first hint of his objection to his friend, William Short, in a letter of December 14, 1789.⁸ The next day Jefferson put his thought in these words addressed to President Washington: "But when I contemplate the extent of that office, embracing as it does the principal mass of domestic administration, together with the foreign, I cannot be insensible to my inequality to it."⁹ On the following January 4 Madison, who had recently seen Jefferson at Monticello, made Jefferson's

³ Elliot, *Debates*, V. 446.

⁴ Sparks, *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, III. 481 ff.

⁵ Charles Pinckney, *Observations on the Plan of Government submitted to the Federal Convention*, pp. 10-11.

⁶ D. Humphreys to Jefferson, writing from Mount Vernon, November 29, 1788; Bancroft, *History of the Constitution*, II. 485.

⁷ *Annals of Congress*, I. 385-386, 412, 692-695, *passim*.

⁸ Jefferson, *Writings* (ed. Ford), V. 139.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

objection quite clear to Washington. "I was sorry to find him", wrote Madison, "so little biassed in favor of the domestic service allotted to him, but was glad that his difficulties seemed to result chiefly from what I take to be an erroneous view of the kind and quantity of business annexed to . . . the foreign department. He apprehends", added Madison, "that it will far exceed the latter which has of itself no terrors to him."¹⁰

The theoretical stage of the problem was concluded when Jefferson took office in March, 1790, and began to administer the business of the Department of State. Within a few months of that time he sent to his colleague, Secretary Hamilton, an estimate of department expenses, reckoning them from April, 1790, for one year. It should be observed that Jefferson divided the expenses on the basis of the "Home Office" (\$1836) and the "Foreign Office" (\$2625). The figures are enough to indicate that the domestic functions of the Secretary of State were almost certain to be extensive.¹¹ Moreover the next twenty years were to determine unmistakably that the Secretary of State was to be overburdened with his manifold duties. In truth by the spring of 1812 all the administrative departments were so pressed with work that President Madison addressed a special message to both House and Senate on the subject.¹²

II.

Madison's brief word written in the face of impending war sounded a note of warning that could not easily be overlooked. Some minor changes, it is true, had already been accomplished, revealing the fact that Congress had not been quite heedless of the need of reforms and alterations in the departmental organizations.¹³ But they were not fundamental enough to afford relief. On June 12, exactly six days before the formal declaration of war with England, we come upon the first clear recommendation of a Home Department arising from a Congressional source after 1789. The incident is worth a moment's attention.

Near the beginning of a report read to the House of Representatives on that day—a report chiefly concerned with conditions that had prevailed for many years in the Patent Office as a subordinate division in the State Department—there occurred this definite suggestion: "Your committee, without entering into any detailed rea-

¹⁰ H. S. Randall, *Life of Thomas Jefferson* (1858), I, 557, note 1.

¹¹ Gaillard Hunt in *American Journal of International Law* (January, 1909), III, 148. Washington placed the Mint under Jefferson's charge. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹² *Messages and Papers*, I, 499, April 20.

¹³ *Annals of Congress*, 10 Cong., 2 sess. (1808-1809), pp. 347 ff., 352, 387-388, 437, 443, 450-452, 461, 1546, 1549, 1553, 1559-1560, 1575, 1833-1835 (text of act).

soning on the subject, offer for the consideration of the Legislature, the propriety and necessity of authorizing a *Home Department*, distinct from the departments already established by law. Such departments", continued the record, "are known to other Governments, and their benefits have been recognized in territories far less extensive than those of the United States."¹⁴ This came from a committee of which Adam Seybert of Pennsylvania was chairman which had been appointed to examine into the organization and workings of the Patent Establishment.¹⁵ On May 25 Seybert had addressed a letter to Monroe, the Secretary of State, asking for his observations on the subject, saying at the same time that the occasion might afford Monroe an opportunity to outline a plan for separating the Patent Establishment from the State Department.¹⁶ Monroe was harassed with work. However he gave the matter some attention, and answered Seybert's letter on June 10. In general Monroe was opposed to all inferior independent departments. The Patent Office, he thought, might as well remain in charge of the State Department. He admitted, however, that foreign affairs constituted in themselves a sufficient trust for the person at the head of the Department of State. "They are", he reflected, "very extensive, complicated and important, and are becoming more so daily."¹⁷

There was an ominous tone to Monroe's reply which could not have escaped attentive ears. At any rate Seybert's committee felt free to broach the subject of a new department to the House, declaring that foreign relations were essentially distinct "from many objects in the interior of our country". The report was printed. No action, however, was taken on its special suggestion of a Home Department, for the country was soon experiencing the stress and strain of war.

By 1815 serious weaknesses extending down from the principal offices through all the national administrative organizations had become more real and were more evident than ever. Arrangements within the War Department were most unsatisfactory. Within this department Indian affairs had proved to be peculiarly troublesome. On March 2, 1815, the Senate passed a resolution requesting President Madison to instruct the Secretary of War to make a report on Indian affairs chiefly for the purpose, it would seem, of obtaining a sound basis of information on which to reorganize that subordinate branch of administration. There was already some disposition to place Indian affairs in a department quite by themselves.¹⁸

¹⁴ *Annals of Congress*, 12 Cong. (1812-1813), pt. II., p. 2179.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1435.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 2190 ff.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2192.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 13 Cong. (1814-1815), III. 287-288.

At the moment the headship of the War Department was in a state of transition, consequently more than a year elapsed before the Senate's request was answered. Then came a report on Indian affairs from Secretary William H. Crawford; it was dated March 13, 1816, and was communicated to the Senate on the following day. It was a long and well-considered document. From certain casual statements one gathers a clear impression that Crawford was aware of the burdens to which most of the secretaries in the separate departments had long been subjected. He merely hinted at "the creation of a separate and independent department" without giving any details of a plan. But he was sure that if a new department were established "much of the miscellaneous duties now belonging to the Department of State, ought to be transferred to it".¹⁹

Rather more than a month later—on April 20—Macon of North Carolina presented to the Senate a resolution that was passed and yielded some unforeseen results. The resolution follows:

Resolved, That the Secretaries of the Departments be directed to report jointly to the Senate, in the first week of the next session of Congress, a plan to insure the annual settlement of the public accounts, and a more certain accountability of the public expenditure, in their respective departments.²⁰

The peculiar merit of the resolution was that it brought the principal officers together on the subject of the general organization of administrative work. By the following December these officers in consultation with the President had formulated a careful report. This report, after reviewing the principles on which the several departments were organized, dwelling with marked stress on the burdens of the Secretary of War, and commenting on the notable incongruity in having Indian affairs managed in connection with the military establishment, proceeded to outline on the grounds of actual experience the first clear plan for a Home Department in our history. This was the plan which lay behind the recommendation of Madison made in his last annual message of December 3, 1816, where he remarked on "the expediency . . . of an additional department in the executive branch of the Government . . . to be charged with duties now overburdening other departments and with such as have not been annexed to any department".²¹

Although the inspiration for it may have come in part from the Senate resolution, this first plan for a Home Department signed

¹⁹ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, II. 26-88.

²⁰ *Annals of Congress*, 14 Cong., 1 sess. (1815-1816), pp. 331-332.

²¹ *Messages and Papers*, I. 577; *Annals of Congress*, 14 Cong., 2 sess. (1816-1817), pp. 23-30. The report appeared in the *National Intelligencer* of Saturday, December 21, 1816, and in *Niles's Register* of that date.

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by all the principal officers except Attorney-General Rush may be truly termed a Cabinet measure. It provided for a secretary whose duty it should be to execute the orders of the President in so far as they concerned the following five administrative divisions: (1) Territorial Governments; (2) National Highways and Canals; (3) General Post-Office; (4) Patent Office; and (5) Indian Department. The plan was communicated to the Senate by Madison on December 9.

Meantime steps had been taken in both the Senate and the House to consider that portion of the message which related to the possible establishment of an additional executive department. William Lowndes of South Carolina, chairman of the committee of seven in the House chosen to consider the subject, addressed a letter to the secretaries on December 22 asking among other questions whether the accountability of public officers might not be sufficiently served without a new executive department.²² The secretaries answered the letter carefully on December 31. Their conclusion in response to Lowndes's particular query was this: "we have no doubt that the just principles of accountability would be better preserved, and economy promoted, by the adoption of that measure. Equally satisfied are we", they added, "that other essential advantages would result from it."²³

On January 6, 1817, a bill for the purpose of establishing a Home Department was reported to the Senate by Senator Nathan Sanford of New York. The bill was similar in most respects to the "cabinet plan"; but it introduced the "District of Columbia" as a division of administration in the new department and omitted the division of "National Highways and Canals". Among minor readjustments it placed the Mint under the supervision of the Secretary of the Treasury. It ran a brief course in the Senate. On January 29, by a vote of 23 to 11, the Senate refused to listen to a third reading. Two senators of distinction opposed the measure, Rufus King of New York and Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, the latter a member of the special Senate committee which had introduced the bill. King recalled the discussions of 1789 on a similar project, dwelling at length upon the opposition at that time. He admitted that times had changed, yet he failed, he said, to find much reason for multiplying departments or for having—as he expressed it—two Departments of State. A new department implied that the Secretary "would have a place in the Cabinet, and be one of the President's counsellors". The bill reached the House on January 20. The next day Lowndes read his correspondence with the secretaries.

²² *Annals*, 14 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 697-698.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 699.

Although the reply of the secretaries of December 31 was judicious, it could hardly have helped the progress of the bill, for it was in no way compelling or conclusive of the need of a new department.²⁴

The failure to establish a Home Department in 1817 calls for a brief comment. President, secretaries, certain senators and representatives, and doubtless many of the more thoughtful citizens at all well informed about government administration were inclined to favor the measure. Yet when the measure came to the point of actual construction and enactment, it was halted and in the end cast out. To the reader of Congressional and newspaper evidence covering the years 1816-1817, two questions will be frequently suggested. It is impossible, moreover, to escape the belief that both questions were occasionally before the minds of men living in those days. (1) Could a Home Department be organized and administered with a view to economy? (2) Would its creation be a constitutional measure?

It should be remembered that the plan of a Home Department, while enforced by the growing burdens of administration—some of these burdens doubtless the direct result of the war, and others of much longer standing—originated in an effort to bring all the existing departments into clear accountability for their expenditures. Without more definite principles of accountability than had hitherto existed, any additional department would tend not only to increase the financial burdens of the government but to render the solution of the basic problem more difficult. From the standpoint of improved administration a Home Department would seem to have been amply justified by 1817. From the standpoint of national economy—a subject of special moment for the next decade—it was a measure of doubtful consequences and might, in view of other needs, be indefinitely postponed.

There was doubt about the constitutionality of a Home Department. This was plainly revealed by an anonymous writer in the *National Intelligencer* who printed his reflections on the organization of executive departments on February 20 and 22, 1817.²⁵ Among other things this writer proposed to obtain a "general enactment for the construction of the departments" in the shape of an

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19, 23-30, 33, 47, 52, 59, 60, 70, 74-75, 88, 234-235, 697-699.

²⁵ The writer, whoever he was, showed some ingenuity. He favored four principal departments: (1) Revenue; (2) Domestic Affairs; (3) Foreign Affairs; (4) War. "Domestic Affairs", he wrote, "naturally claim attention anterior to foreign affairs." The War Department he divided into two divisions—army and navy. The heads or "conductors" of these two divisions were to constitute a "Board of War". Domestic affairs he placed in five divisions, including Indian Affairs, the Post-Office, the Land Office, the Patent Office, and the Mint. Were these articles written by Judge A. B. Woodward?

amendment to the Constitution. Belief in the absence of constitutional power undoubtedly made certain minds in 1817 peculiarly sensitive to and critical of what Jackson characterized many years later as the "supposed tendency to increase . . . the . . . bias of the federal system toward the exercise of authority not delegated to it".²⁶

In this connection it should certainly be noted that the project of a Home Department was inevitably entangled with that series of speculations which marked the entire movement for internal improvements—a movement which had its sources in the fundamental question of the proper disposition of the nation's money. There was apprehension lest the establishment of a Home Department would be used as an argument for enlarging the sphere of domestic legislation by the general government.

III.

In 1824 new light is shed upon the path of the investigator bent upon reaching the establishment of the Department of the Interior in 1849. Clay could declare in 1824 with conviction that "a new world has come into being since the Constitution was adopted".²⁷ Already three years before this utterance in the House of Representatives, John Quincy Adams, forced by what he characterized as "the increase of the inquisitive spirit in Congress" to make investigations into his own department, recorded these comparisons and contrasts:

The foreign correspondence . . . remained much the same now as it was in 1800. . . . But the interior correspondence then was with sixteen States; it is now with twenty-four. It was then with a population of less than five, and now of more than nine millions. . . . At that time there were in Congress about one hundred and thirty members; there are now upwards of two hundred and thirty. Then two or three octavo and one folio volume constituted all the documents printed at a session. Now there are from fifteen to twenty volumes published every year. There are assuredly five calls from Congress for information and documents from the Departments for one that there was then. Every call requires a report.²⁸

It was clear from these facts that the Secretary of State, unless he were robust and capable, might find his post burdensome in the extreme.

There appeared in the *National Journal* of 1824—a paper established in Washington and edited by Peter Force—various articles written by Judge Augustus B. Woodward. The first of these articles

²⁶ December 8, 1829. *Messages and Papers*, II. 461–462.

²⁷ January 30, 1824.

²⁸ *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, V. 239–240, January 19, 1821.

that concerns this inquiry was entitled "On the Necessity and Importance of a Department of Domestic Affairs, in the Government of the United States". Appearing on April 24, it was followed at irregular intervals by others which touched upon the subject of administrative organization or gave detailed consideration to different historical aspects of the presidency. Judge Woodward had been a student of the American executive for years. Whatever he wrote on his favorite theme was likely to be read by statesmen and other careful observers of public affairs. On friendly terms with John Quincy Adams, he is occasionally mentioned in Adams's *Memoirs*. Under date of July 24, 1824, Adams wrote of Woodward's articles on the presidency which were then appearing with some regularity. "They are", remarked Adams, "speculative and historical, referring to past events, but bearing so much upon those of the present time that I told him he was treading close upon warm ashes."²⁹

Elaboration was the most notable feature of Judge Woodward's plan for a Department of Domestic Affairs. Under the secretary for such a department he would have included eight commissioners to be charged with the oversight of the following bureaux or administrative divisions: Science and Art, Public Economy, Posts, Public Lands, Mint, Patents, Indian Affairs, and Justice. He included in the bureau of Public Economy the superintendence and execution of internal improvements such as roads and canals, and such other matters as the care of unsettled public lands, the conservation of forests, slavery, mines, fisheries, and general police. The scheme attracted wide-spread notice and gained favorable comment here and there. But it lacked simplicity and failed to impress men high in administrative circles with its feasibility.³⁰

In the autumn of 1824 President Monroe contemplated recommending to Congress a Department of the Interior. His reason for not doing so was recorded by John Quincy Adams under date of April 25, 1825. According to Adams, Monroe, having determined to recommend an increase in the number of the judges of the Supreme Court, was apprehensive lest "it would have too much the appearance of a projecting spirit to recommend also additions to the Executive Department".³¹ Nevertheless just at the close of the second session of the Eighteenth Congress, on March 3, 1825, a member of the House offered a resolution in favor of the establish-

²⁹ *Ibid.*, VI. 401-402. See note 1 at the end of this article.

³⁰ *National Journal*, April 24, May 29, 1824. The same articles were reprinted about a year later in the *National Intelligencer* of April 23, 26, and 28, 1825. Woodward communicated some of his ideas to Madison. *Writings of Madison* (ed. Hunt), IX. 206 ff.

³¹ *Memoirs*, VI. 532-533.

ment of a Home Department for the purpose of promoting agriculture, manufactures, science and the arts, and trade between the states by roads and canals. The resolution was promptly voted down—stamped at once with the disapprobation of the House.³²

Such Washington papers as the *National Intelligencer* and the *National Journal* persisted in keeping track of the general project. As late as November 10, 1825—not many weeks before the assembling of the Nineteenth Congress—the *National Journal* copied a series of "Remarks" on the subject of a Home Department which had appeared in the *American Athenaeum*. "We shall feel grateful", concluded the writer in the *Athenaeum*, "if any gentlemen will favour us with a paper on this subject, writing in a truly national spirit, and tending to elucidate the *advantages or disadvantages* that may be expected to result from the establishment of a *Home Department* for the United States."

John Quincy Adams was the first president after Madison to call public attention to the need of an additional executive department. Under the obligation of an "indispensable duty", he did so in his first annual message of December 6. Remarking that "the Departments of Foreign Affairs and of the Interior, which early after the formation of the Government had been united in one, continue so united to this time, to the unquestionable detriment of the public service", he went on to refer deferentially to Madison's suggestion and said:

The exigencies of the public service and its unavoidable deficiencies . . . have added yearly cumulative weight to the considerations presented by him as persuasive to the measure, and in recommending it to your deliberations I am happy to have the influence of his high authority in aid of the undoubting convictions of my own experience.³³

Both Madison and Adams could speak with all the more authority on the subject because they had each had eight years of experience as Secretaries of State before they entered upon the work of the presidency.

This recommendation of President Adams had been carefully discussed by the Cabinet before it was made public, as we know from the record of the *Memoirs*.³⁴ Rush of the Treasury Department urged the immediate communication of the recommendation in the message. Clay, Secretary of State, while admitting that a new executive department "was of most urgent necessity", was inclined to believe that Congress could not be persuaded to take any action in the matter. Nevertheless the House promptly sought light on the

³² *Register of Debates*, 18 Cong., 2 sess. (1824-1825), I. 740.

³³ *Messages and Papers*, II. 315.

³⁴ VII. 62-63.

subject, appointing a special committee of which Daniel Webster was chairman.³⁵ Little could Webster have dreamed that his interest in the subject, first aroused in 1825, was to continue over an interval of almost a quarter of a century, and that finally he was to take a leading part in the passing of the bill of 1849 which actually established the Interior Department.

On the evening of December 16 Webster called on the President for the purpose, among other things, of obtaining from Adams his ideas. The President, like Clay, was in doubt about the attitude of Congress toward any such measure. From his record of the interview with Webster the reader may obtain a clear impression of his thought.

I said [wrote Adams], if it was possible in any manner to obtain this from Congress it must be by a very short Act, expressing in very general terms the objects committed to it—the internal correspondence, the roads and canals, the Indians and the Patent Office. I referred him to the papers of Judge Woodward on a Home Department in the National Journal, but observed that was a plan upon a scale much too large for the approbation of Congress, to begin with. I have indeed no expectation of success with this Congress for any such establishment even upon the simplest plan.³⁶

The interview was apparently only the starting-point in the search for information. Late in the following January Webster addressed a letter on the subject to the four heads of departments, Clay, Rush, Barbour, and Southard. For some unknown reason Wirt, the Attorney-General, was ignored. Clay gave careful consideration to the letter, then answered it at length, approving the general plan and stating reasons why a Home Department seemed to him necessary. Rush declared himself too inexperienced in the business of the Treasury Department to have any decided opinion to offer. Barbour acknowledged that he would be glad to have pensions and Indian affairs off his shoulders as Secretary of War. Southard found his tasks as Secretary of the Navy not specially burdensome.³⁷

That a bill was not only contemplated, but was actually in course of formulation at the time, would appear from Adams's reference on January 24 to "the proposed bill for the establishment of a Home Department", for the President added that "the duties to be assigned to it will be taken almost entirely from the Departments of State and of War".³⁸ But the evidence after this on the progress of the matter is scant. It is certain that no definite action on the subject

³⁵ *Ibid.*, VII. 83; *Register of Debates*, 19 Cong., 1 sess. (1825-1826), p. 797.

³⁶ *Memoirs*, VII. 83-84.

³⁷ *Senate Documents*, 21 Cong., 1 sess. (1829-1830), vol. II., no. 109, p. 13. Here will be found the correspondence.

³⁸ *Memoirs*, VII. 109.

was taken by Congress in 1826, although on May 22, the last day of the session, a report was made to the House and was placed on file.³⁹ The subject seems never again during Adams's term to have come before Congress. But Adams did not forget it, for as late as 1839, in a paper read before the New York Historical Society on "The Jubilee of the Constitution", he then deplored the absence of a Home Department.⁴⁰

President Jackson, like his predecessor, Adams, was impressed by the justness of Madison's plea for an additional executive department. He gave the subject brief consideration in his first annual message of December, 1829. The State Department had from an early period, as he remarked, been overburdened with business owing to many complications in our foreign relations. These relations, moreover, had been very much extended because of large additions made to the number of independent nations. The remedy proposed, the establishment of a Home Department, had not met favorable attention from Congress "on account of its supposed tendency to increase gradually and imperceptibly, the already too strong bias of the federal system toward the exercise of authority not delegated to it". Accordingly in view of the popular expression of opposition he was himself disinclined to revive the old recommendation. Appreciating, however, the importance of somehow relieving the Secretary of State of larger burdens, he ventured to call the attention of Congress to the problem.⁴¹

Congress was inclined to respond to the suggestion. They endeavored to reorganize the office of the Attorney-General—a matter that Jackson considered of paramount importance—and carried out some slight alterations in that office during the spring of 1830.⁴² The debates on the matter in the Senate show clearly that Webster, Rowan of Kentucky, and Barton of Missouri all favored a Home Department. One thing was perfectly obvious at this time—the incongruity in having Indian affairs under the Secretary of War, the Patent Office in the State Department, and a Secretary of the Treasury who was obliged by law to consider and decide innumerable problems connected with the public lands.⁴³

³⁹ Printed in *Senate Documents*, 21 Cong., 1 sess. (1829-1830), vol. II., no. 109. The Report omits the text of a bill in a way which leads one to think that somehow the text might have been lost before the Report was printed.

⁴⁰ *The Jubilee of the Constitution*, A Discourse delivered at the request of the New York Historical Society, in the City of New York, on Tuesday, the 30th of April, 1839 (New York, 1839), p. 77.

⁴¹ *Messages and Papers*, II. 461-462.

⁴² See *Political Science Quarterly* (September, 1909), XXIV. 453-454.

⁴³ *Register of Debates* (1829-1830), vol. VI., pt. 1., pp. 276, 323-324. A text-book of the time remarked: "It is the opinion of many intelligent persons, that

Just before his retirement from the presidency Jackson put himself on record regarding the prosperous condition of the executive departments, referring to the ability and integrity with which these departments had been conducted.⁴⁴ Somehow Jackson's principal officers, it would seem, got on very well without a Home Department. But the topic of a Home Department cropped up in the newspapers occasionally after Jackson's term, for administrative burdens were constantly increasing and seemed to demand more careful differentiation than they had yet received.⁴⁵

IV.

President Polk followed Jackson's lead in more ways than one. Like Jackson he called attention in his first annual message of December, 1845, to the necessity of relieving the executive departments by redistributing various duties among them. The administrative organizations seemed to him in many places to be out of joint. He commented especially on the duties of a domestic nature which rested on the shoulders of the Secretary of State, and suggested that the Patent Office might well be transferred to the office of the Attorney-General. The tone of the recommendations was not robust and strong, but sounded as though Polk himself doubted whether, under the circumstances of trouble with Mexico over the Texas situation, Congress would be inclined to undertake measures of administrative reform.⁴⁶ No such measures at any rate were undertaken, for the war with Mexico soon absorbed attention and concentrated Congressional effort on other matters. Yet the results of the war—particularly the acquisition of territory from Mexico—and the control of the Oregon country as the outcome of the treaty of 1846, were largely responsible for the ultimate attainment of a new department in 1849.

Polk's cabinet was carefully selected. It contained several men of marked ability: James Buchanan was Secretary of State; William L. Marcy was Secretary of War; and Robert J. Walker was Secretary of the Treasury. It was Walker who was largely responsible for arousing Congress to an appreciation of the vital need for the act on the basis of which the Department of the Interior was organized in March, 1849.

the labors of conducting the government could be more easily and correctly performed by the establishment of a Home Department. . . ." William Sullivan, *The Political Class Book* (Boston, 1831), p. 90.

⁴⁴ *Messages and Papers*, III. 259.

⁴⁵ *National Intelligencer*, October 21, December 8, 1841. The *Cincinnati Gazette* about this time was vigorous in its approval of the project for a Home Department.

⁴⁶ *Messages and Papers*, IV. 414.

Born and educated in Pennsylvania Robert J. Walker, while a young man, moved to Natchez, Mississippi, and there allied himself to some extent to southern interests. A lawyer by profession, he showed from early manhood a vigorous interest in politics and gained a leading position in advocating the candidacy of Andrew Jackson for the presidency. Like Jackson he opposed nullification and the re-chartering of the United States Bank. He favored the Independent Treasury system. Although an owner of slaves, he could not approve many features of the slavery régime. Entering the national Senate from Mississippi at about the age of thirty-five, he was soon made chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Lands and engaged actively in the work of lawmaking. He was an indefatigable expansionist, first favoring the recognition of the independence of the Texas republic, and later, in 1844, arguing for its annexation to the United States. His fellow-citizens of Mississippi marked him as their choice for the vice-presidency in the campaign of 1844. His selection the next year by President Polk as head of the Treasury Department fostered ability already apparent and gave him new and unexpected opportunities to reveal unusual powers in constructive statesmanship. His first report as Secretary of the Treasury raised a storm of debate and led to the so-called Walker Tariff Act of 1846, of which he was in reality the framer. During his later life he acted for a brief time (1857) as governor of Kansas, then in a condition of turmoil. When the war broke out between the states in 1861, Walker stood loyally by Lincoln's administration and worked for it. He was for a time employed by the federal government as financial agent and expert on business that took him to Europe where he was able to negotiate some heavy loans for the Union cause. He died in Washington, in November, 1869.⁴⁷

On December 9, 1848, after serving nearly four years at the head of the Treasury Department, Walker was moved to make certain definite recommendations to Congress in his last annual report for the purpose not only of relieving the Treasury Department from burdens, but also of altering the administrative organization in such a manner as ultimately to promote—as he explained—the interests of the American people. His report was dated four days later than Polk's last annual message. There was a patriotic note in Walker's suggestions that could not have escaped even a casual reader. Indeed it seems fair to assume that the Secretary of the Treasury considered the report as his valedictory word to the American people,

⁴⁷ *Democratic Review* (February, 1845), XVI. 157-164; *Green Bag*, XV. 101-106; *American Historical Review*, X. 357; Appleton, *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI. 329; Taussig, *Tariff History*, fifth edition, p. 114.

delivered, as it was, from a position of marked prominence. His suggestions on administrative organization are worthy of careful attention, for behind them were ripe experience and association with men and measures of a momentous epoch. Inevitably they reflected the administrative deficiencies of an earlier time.

At the outset of his suggestions Walker was perhaps unduly deferential to the supposed wisdom of Congress in respect to any action that that body might be inclined to take. However, he began his considerations by asserting that the Treasury organization was defective and that its deficiencies made it peculiarly burdensome to any man at its head. In his view there was real danger lest the department might be broken down by the very weight of its own machinery.

Its varied and important duties [he declared], with the rapid increase of our area, business and population, can scarcely be all promptly and properly performed by any one secretary. Yet in detaching any of its duties from this department, the greatest care must be taken not to impair the unity, simplicity, and efficiency of the system . . . there are important public duties having no necessary connexion with commerce or finance, that could be most advantageously separated from the treasury, and devolved upon a new department. . . .⁴⁸

This comment led Walker to the presentation of a positive plan for the new department which should be placed under a "head"—"to be called the Secretary of the Interior, inasmuch as his duties would be connected with those branches of the public service . . . associated with our domestic affairs. The duties of this new department . . . would be great and important, fully equal to those appertaining to the head of any other department except the treasury . . ."⁴⁹

In Walker's plan there were five definite propositions, all of which were involved later in the act of 1849. In the new department he would place, first, the work of the General Land Office. Second, he would relieve the Secretary of the Treasury of sundry duties of supervision which had no necessary connection with finance, but were concerned with the expenses of the courts of the United States. Third, Indian affairs should have a place in the new department. Fourth, the Patent Office, taken from the supervision of the State Department, should come under the Secretary of the Interior. Finally, the Pension Office, a burden to the War Department, should also find a place under the new official.

On the subject of the Land Office, Walker was especially detailed and informing. "The business of the Land Office", he wrote,

⁴⁸ *Executive Documents*, 30 Cong., 2 sess. (1848-1849), II., Doc. 7, p. 35.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

"occupies a very large portion of the time of the Secretary of the Treasury every day, and his duties connected therewith must be greatly increased by the accession of our immense domain in Oregon, New Mexico, and California, especially in connexion with their valuable mineral lands, their private land claims, and conflicting titles. From all decisions of the Commissioner . . .", he continued, "an appeal lies to the Secretary of the Treasury." Then he added this comment from his own experience:

I have pronounced judgment in upwards of five thousand cases, involving land titles, since the tenth of March, 1845. These are generally judicial questions . . . requiring often great labor and research, and having no necessary connexion with the duties of the Treasury Department.⁵⁰

Indian affairs called forth this statement:

The duties now performed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are most numerous . . . and must be vastly increased with the great number of tribes scattered over Texas, Oregon, New Mexico, and California. . . . These duties do not necessarily appertain to war, but to peace, and to our domestic relations with those tribes. . . . This most important bureau, then, should be detached from the War Department, with which it has no necessary connexion.⁵¹

About two months after Walker's report was made, Samuel F. Vinton of Ohio, a leading Whig and chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in the House, presented a bill approved by his committee for the purpose of organizing a Department of the Interior.⁵² Vinton promptly acknowledged that it had been prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury at the special request of the committee. "The bill", he declared, "with one or two unimportant alterations . . . was the bill as it came from the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury." Some time during the previous month of January it appeared that Vinton had visited Walker and had then urgently requested him to prepare a bill.⁵³

This notable origin of the measure aroused not a word of comment in the debates in the House. One of the less conspicuous senators, however, was moved to remark that it should have been "a cabinet measure". Lack of co-operation on the part of the other principal officers tended in his opinion to condemn it.⁵⁴

The House showed some opposition to the bill. Howell Cobb of Georgia, in the lead of the hostile elements, gave three reasons for

⁵⁰ *Executive Documents*, 30 Cong., 2 sess. (1848-1849), II., Doc. 7, p. 35.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵² February 12, 1849.

⁵³ *Congressional Globe*, 30 Cong., 2 sess. (1848-1849), XX. 514.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 687. Allen of Ohio, March 3.

opposing the bill. He dwelt at some length on the fact that no preceding Congress had ever been willing to sanction such a measure. He showed that a new department would increase considerably the federal patronage. Moreover it was certain to add "another Cabinet officer to the Government".⁵⁵ But Cobb and his followers failed to convince. On February 15 the bill passed the House by 112 yeas to 78 nays.⁵⁶ This step had hardly been accomplished when John G. Palfrey of Massachusetts moved to amend the title by striking out "Department of the Interior" and substituting for it "Home Department".⁵⁷ This suggestion of Palfrey, truly doctrinaire in view of the fact that there was no reference in the text of the bill to anything but a Department of the Interior, fixed the title in law with an incongruity that did not escape later comment. Both Ewing and Stuart, first and third Secretaries of the Interior, referred to the matter.⁵⁸

The Senate discussions over the bill were vigorous and at times acrid, but they were confined to a single day and evening session, for the bill was not reported by Senator R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia until March 3, the last day of the Thirtieth Congress. Hunter was mild in his opposition by comparison with his colleague, Senator James M. Mason, grandson of Colonel George Mason, member of the Philadelphia Convention of 1787. Mason made quite the most bitter protest against the bill that the record of debate shows; and he was seconded in his position by John C. Calhoun. The leaders of the small Senate majority that favored the measure were Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. Both these men argued ably and well. The bill passed the Senate by a vote of 31 yeas to 25 nays.⁵⁹

The particular note sounded by the Senate opposition at different times in the course of the debate was first suggested by Hunter.⁶⁰ It was not a new note, for Jackson's quick ear had detected it as far back as 1829, and it was probably even then well known. It was the expression of fear of any tendency that seemed likely to increase, however imperceptibly, the bias of the federal system toward authority not clearly delegated. The proposal in 1849 to create a new department—even though the move was really scarcely more than a readjustment of existing organization—aroused this fear in a manner not easy to understand. The fear was expressed in some variety of

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 516.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 543.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 544.

⁵⁸ See note 2 at the end of this article.

⁵⁹ *Globe*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., p. 680.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 670 ff.

ways. "Mr. President", exclaimed Calhoun, "there is something ominous in the expression, 'The Secretary of the Interior'. This Government . . . was made to take charge of the exterior relations of the States. And if there had been no exterior relations, the Federal Government would never have existed. . . . Sir, the name 'Interior Department' itself indicates a great change in the public mind. . . . Everything upon the face of God's earth will go into the Home Department."⁶¹ Senator Niles of Connecticut felt that "the whole tendency of this Government is . . . to foster and enlarge the executive power which is becoming a maelstrom to swallow up all the power of the Government".⁶²

To Senator Mason the bill for the new department seemed a project destined to place industrial pursuits and other interior concerns under the management of the general government. He could not avoid the sectional note:

Are we to increase this central power? More especially are we who belong to the South—who have very little more interest in this country than to have the protection of our independence with the other States; from whom a great part of the revenue is drawn, and to whom very little of it is returned; who pay everything to Federal power, and receive nothing for it. . . .

A little further along he declared:

We have yet some hope, although it may be impaired by the experience of every day, that the State organizations will yet outlive the overshadowing influence of this Federal Government.⁶³

Into this confusion of thought and juggling with words there came the clearer ideas of such men as Webster and Davis. "Why call this the Secretary of the Interior?", asked Webster in response to Calhoun's rhetoric about a title. "The impression seems to be that we are going to carry the power of the Government further into the interior. . . . I do not so understand it. Where is the power? It is only that certain powers heretofore exercised by certain agents are to be exercised by other agents. That is the whole of it."⁶⁴ To Webster, grown old in active efforts for his country's welfare, his mind filled with recollections of the past, the historic aspect of the measure must have been deeply significant. "As far back as the time of Mr. Monroe", he said, "and up to this time, persons most skilled and of the most experience in the administration of this Government, have recommended the creation of some other department. . . . Gentlemen can remember what . . . Mr. Madison said on that subject." Then in another vein he added:

⁶¹ *Globe*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., p. 672.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 671.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 672.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 677.

It is said, but not very conclusively, that we create offices from time to time, and make additions to salaries. . . . Well, the country is increasing; the business of the Government is increasing; there is a great deal more work to be done. . . . This bill may not be perfect. . . . But the popular branch of the Legislature has passed it. It is here. It is my opinion that there is a general sense in the country that some such provision is necessary.⁶⁵

Jefferson Davis was not forgetful of the force of an appeal to the past. He reminded his fellow senators that several of the great Virginian presidents were believers in the ideal of the bill. But perhaps his particular contribution to the debate was his reference in the following passage to the import of the bill to the "new States", among which Mississippi was at this time reckoned. "I feel a very peculiar interest in this measure", he asserted, "as every one who comes from a new State must feel." Then he said:

We are peopling the public lands; the inhabitants of the old States are the people of commerce. The Treasury belongs to us in common. The Secretaries of the Treasury must be taken from those portions of the country where they have foreign commerce, and therefore they are men who are not so intimately connected and acquainted with the relations and interests of the public lands in the new States.⁶⁶

The implication was obvious that the interests of the new and the inland states were likely to be better guarded if the new department could be established.

To several Democrats the fact that a new Cabinet officer would have to be appointed was a disturbing thought. "We are assuming that those who are to succeed us require more advisers than we have had; we are doing that thing which they ought to do, if they think it is required."⁶⁷

To the reader of the debates of 1849 the balance of argument seems strongly in favor of the measure. So thought the majority in both Senate and House. Late on the night of March 3 the bill was presented to President Polk for his signature. It was a long bill—too long to have received any very careful consideration from Polk during these last hours of his presidency.

I had serious objections to it [wrote Polk several weeks later in his *Diary*], but they were not of a constitutional character and I signed it with reluctance. I fear its consolidating tendency. I apprehend its practical operation will be to draw power from the states, where the Constitution has reserved it, and to extend the jurisdiction and power of the U. S. by construction to an unwarrantable extent. Had I been a member of Congress I would have voted against it.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 671.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 669–670.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 670.

In Polk's eyes the measure was inexpedient. It is altogether probable that, had he had more time, he would have vetoed it.⁶⁸ But fortunately the long struggle ended as it did. Three days later, on March 6, President Taylor sent to the Senate the name of Thomas Ewing of Ohio as first Secretary of the Interior. And on March 8 Ewing, duly commissioned, entered upon his duties, taking his place as seventh member of the Cabinet.

V.

The plan of an Interior Department in 1848-1849 was essentially a Democratic measure in its source. It was the direct result of the pressure of administrative burdens. There is no evidence to show that general opinion outside administrative or Congressional circles had anything whatever to do with it. It was certainly not the outcome of wide-spread demand or popular pressure.

The establishment of the department was mainly dependent upon a House of Representatives containing a small Whig majority (117 Whigs and 111 Democrats) and upon a Democratic Senate (36 Democrats and 22 Whigs).⁶⁹ Circumstances and a few clear-headed men happily combined to enforce its need. The war with Mexico was over and settled. The new regions added to the national domain during Polk's term had increased or were likely to increase the burdens of administration to such an extent as to make the demand for a new administrative official and organization imperative.⁷⁰ The official, Secretary of the Interior Department, was conceived of as one who would naturally assume the rank and position of a Cabinet member. His department was bound to increase the range of the federal patronage. Knowledge of these facts served inevitably in Congress to smooth the way of the measure among Whig partisans, for Taylor was about to take office as a Whig president in succession to a Democratic régime. Much was to be said in favor of the intrinsic merits of the plan. It would provide, as Webster pointed out, a necessary organization. The action of the Ways and Means Committee together with the vote on the bill in the House afforded some evidence that the public was ready to approve such a readjustment of administrative work as would facilitate the tasks of the federal government which were growing year by year more numerous and more complicated.

Though familiar to public men since the foundation period of the

⁶⁸ *The Diary of James K. Polk during his Presidency*, ed. M. M. Quaife (Chicago, 1910), IV. 371-372.

⁶⁹ *Globe*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., p. 516.

⁷⁰ See note 3 at the end of this article.

Constitution and advocated more or less forcibly by such characters as Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, and Andrew Jackson, the idea of a Department of the Interior was newly conceived and clearly formulated by an experienced and public-spirited Secretary of the Treasury from Mississippi. For the plan of organization Robert J. Walker has never received from any historian the credit that is his just due.⁷¹ He voiced the need and launched the project more carefully than any statesman before him. But it must not be overlooked that his plan was skilfully and ably supported in a doubting Senate by two such leaders as Daniel Webster and Jefferson Davis.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

NOTES

1. Judge Augustus B. Woodward (c. 1775-1827) had published in 1809 a pamphlet entitled *Considerations on the Executive Government of the United States of America* (Flatbush, N. Y., pp. 87). In 1824 he was again writing on various phases of administrative work and taking a particular interest in the project for a Home Department—a subject, it should be said, which was not even mentioned in his pamphlet of 1809. Articles of his which I have observed will be found in the files of the *National Journal* of Washington, D. C., as follows:

- April 24, 1824. "On the Necessity and Importance of a Department of Domestic Affairs, in the Government of the United States."
May 29. "On the Distribution of the Bureaux in a Department of Foreign Affairs: Supplementary to the discussion on the necessity and importance of a Department of Domestic Affairs. . . ."
May 27 to August 31. At intervals between these dates there appeared about a dozen articles on The Presidency. These, together with the two foregoing articles, were collected and printed in the form of a pamphlet entitled: *The Presidency of the United States*, by A. B. Woodward (New York, 1825, pp. 88). The copyright date of this rare pamphlet was May 21, 1825.
April 9, 1825. Letter from Willie Blount to Judge Woodward of Florida, dated March 14, 1825, approving Woodward's plan of a Department of Domestic Affairs. Woodward's reply.
May 21. Letter of Major H. Lee to Judge Woodward, dated April 14. Woodward's reply.

In the *National Intelligencer* of Washington, D. C., of April 23, 26, and 28, 1825, Woodward's two articles that had appeared the year before in the *National Journal* of April 24 and May 29 were reprinted with a brief editorial comment on April 28 in favor of his plans. In general Woodward was opposed to what he termed the "cabinet system", but his writings do not leave the impression that

⁷¹ But see Schouler, *History of the United States*, V. 121.

he had any very definite or practical substitute to offer in its place. In 1824 he was appointed federal judge for the West District of Florida (*National Intelligencer*, February 26, 1825). The probable year of his death is given as 1827 in Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI. 606. He appears to have been interested in science as well as government. Charles Moore has thrown some light on an earlier phase of Woodward's career in a slight sketch entitled *Governor, Judge, and Priest: Detroit, 1805-1815. A paper read before the Witenagemote on Friday evening, October the Second, 1891* (New York, pp. 24).

2. The first Secretary of the Interior, Thomas Ewing, in his Report of December 3, 1849, wrote:

The department is named in the title "A Home Department"; but the body of the act provided that it shall be called "The Department of the Interior". The title of the act, being the part last adopted in the process of enactment, is believed to express the intention of Congress as to the name. . . .

Secretary Alexander H. H. Stuart suggested in his Report of December 2, 1850, that Congress remove the ambiguity. But nothing was done until the revision of the statutes in 1873, when the department was properly entitled and characterized for the first time as an "Executive" department. In respect to the incongruity between the title and the text of the act of 1849, I venture to quote from a personal letter on the point sent to me under date of April 13, 1910, by Mr. Middleton Beaman, librarian of the Law Library of Congress and the Supreme Court:

So far as I know, the title of the act of 1849 is the only instance in which the title "Home Department" is used in legislation. Examination of the indexes of the Statutes at Large from 1849 to 1873 discloses numerous instances of reference to this department as the "Interior Department". . . . The title of the original act cannot govern the usage, as the body of the act expressly declared that the department should be called "The Department of the Interior". By well settled rules of statutory construction the title of an act can have no weight except where the provisions of the act itself are ambiguous. I therefore am of opinion that the official designation has always been "The Department of the Interior".

3. *Growth of the National Domain.* The extent of the land acquisitions that were made to the United States in Polk's administration will be easily understood by the following table:

1781-1802: Cessions by the States.....	819,815	square miles.
1803: Louisiana Purchase	877,268	" "
1805: Oregon	225,948	" "
1812: West Florida	9,740	" "
1819: Florida	54,240	" "

1845: Texas	262,290	square miles.
1846: Region north of the Colorado River.	58,880	" "
1848: Colorado and New Mexico	614,439	" "
1853: Gadsden Purchase	47,330	" "

(Taken from Professor T. N. Carver's article, "History of American Agriculture", in L. H. Bailey's *Cyclopaedia of American Agriculture*, IV. 50.)

It should be noted that none of the land in Texas belonged to the public domain and that much of the land in Colorado and New Mexico had been granted to private individuals before these regions came under the jurisdiction of the United States.

THE FIGHT FOR THE NORTHWEST, 1860¹

THE powers of government were all in the hands of the Democrats in 1858-1860; that is, the presidency, the Senate, the Supreme Court were overwhelmingly Democratic; only in the national House of Representatives was there an opposing force which could interpose a veto upon the conservative or reactionary movements in the national life, and this opposing force was not always sure of a majority even there.

The backbone of the Democracy was the South and the backbone of the South was slavery, the greatest single economic interest in the country. In the South there was no longer a conflict of opinion about "the institution", and all the cultural forces of all the states south of the Potomac and the Ohio, the churches, the schools, and the periodicals, were united in the demand that slavery should not only be let alone but declared to be morally right and socially desirable. Almost every senator, representative, and judge of the federal courts who lived south of Mason and Dixon's line was himself a plantation owner whose income from private sources was two or three times as great as that derived from political or judicial services. Not only so; every governor, two-thirds of the legislators and members of the state judiciaries, high and low, were in the same way intimately bound up with "the interests" and there was nowhere in the South a protest against this government of the people by a privileged class—a class which had governed the nation as well since 1844 and, according to Mr. Rhodes, could have been expected to continue to govern for a decade to come.^{1a}

The power of the South in the administration of the nation had depended on the alliance with the West which had continued in one form or another since the advent of Andrew Jackson. The West was, to 1850, peculiarly the child of the South. The local institutions of most of the states north of the Ohio were Southern, and the prominent families as well as a majority of the people were of Southern origin. The rivers were their highways and the rivers ran southward.

¹ Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Indianapolis, December 30, 1910.

^{1a} James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I. 422.

Though the Ordinance of 1787 forbade slavery in the Northwest many hundreds, even thousands, of slaves were owned and worked in Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa far into the nineteenth century.² One of Indiana's senators was the master of a slave-plantation in Kentucky; Senator Douglas owned in his wife's name a hundred negroes in Mississippi; both of Iowa's senators to 1855, Jones and Dodge, had been owners of slaves in Iowa to about 1840; while Henry Dodge, senator from Wisconsin, had also been a master of slaves. Cass, who represented the Northwest in the Cabinet, had held for many years that slavery could be lawfully carried into the territories. These were the most popular, the representative, men in their section before the appearance of Abraham Lincoln.

The people as a whole did not favor slavery, but their dislike of the negro was so great that as late as 1862 Illinois voted by a hundred thousand majority to forbid the immigration of negroes,³ and for thirty years prior to the war no colored man was allowed to enter the bounds of the state except on condition of giving a bond of one thousand dollars as a guarantee of good behavior,⁴ and what constituted "good behavior" was to be decided by local authorities hostile to the new-comer. In Iowa and Indiana the same policy obtained. Everywhere the weight of opinion and the burden of social disapproval rested heavily upon the shoulders of the ex-slave who had by some good fortune escaped the shackles of bondage.⁵ Negroes were citizens without rights; they were not allowed to testify in court against a white man, nor to serve in the militia, nor to send their children to the public schools, nor to vote in any election, nor to contract a lawful marriage. Stephen A. Douglas boasted that he would not vote slavery "up or down"; the people of the Northwest agreed with him as to slavery but were more hostile to the freedmen than were the Southerners themselves.

During the decade following 1850 a great inpouring of population from the East gave the half-settled counties of northern Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa a new people who hated black folk less, who knew not the civilization of the old river counties, and who looked to the Old Bay State or upper New York as the sources of their ideals. Chicago was the centre of this New West—a fact of which Douglas had shown his appreciation by becoming a citizen of the magic city.

² C. T. Hicok, *The Negro in Ohio*, ch. 11.; N. D. Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois*, chs. v., xiii.; *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, II. 471-484; J. P. Dunn, jr., *History of Indiana*, chs. vi. and xii.

³ N. D. Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois*, p. 239.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 235, 237.

⁵ *Laws of Iowa, 1850-1851*, p. 244; Dunn, *History of Indiana*, pp. 406, 432, 441, 470; John Jones, *The Black Laws of Illinois* (Chicago, 1860), a pamphlet.

When in 1858 Douglas found his leadership of the Northwest challenged by Lincoln, this new element of the population in the three strategic states numbered about 1,500,000, of which 900,000 were in Illinois and Iowa. About 368,000 were foreign-born, mainly German and British.⁶ The great majority of these later settlers were either hostile to slavery or jealous of the overweening power of the South, and they ranged themselves almost unanimously, at least at the beginning of the conflict, on the side of the opposition.

The Old West, the river counties, the gentry who had been the mainstay of the pro-Southern Democracy which had made Benton and Cass and Douglas great, was now evenly matched. In view of this change and in support of the economic needs of the new situation Douglas, who had been a strong ally of the South, revamped the doctrine of Polk, Benton, and others⁷ of his day that slavery in the territories was dependent upon the will of the majority of their own settlers. While many Southern leaders saw at first in this a decided concession to their demands, it soon proved a sad delusion and became a rock of offense because it was sure to give the anti-slavery men control; but the idea was popular with the old order in the Northwest and it won many thousands of the new-comers—the very men who should have become the bone and sinew of the party of opposition and of free labor.

This remarkable feat gave to Douglas a popular following in the Northwest which in 1860 numbered 660,000 votes as against 550,000 in all the Southern States, for the regular or conservative wing of the Democracy. That is, the majority of the voters in the party were for Douglas and called themselves progressives, while a minority of the party sustained by the administration were in control and called themselves conservatives. Thus Douglas was building in 1858 a party within a party which, failing to secure his election in 1860, would throw the contest into the national House of Representatives.⁸ This was so evident that Greeley, Seward, and Thurlow Weed advised the nomination of Douglas by the Republicans in 1860 or at any rate his endorsement by the leading anti-slavery journals as the only means of breaking the hold of the Southern oligarchy upon the Northwest.⁹

The meaning of the contest in the Northwest had been fully

⁶ Census of 1860, *Population*, p. xxix.

⁷ *Diary of James K. Polk*, IV. 136-137, 140-142; A. C. McLaughlin, *Life of Cass*, p. 237—the Nicholson Letter.

⁸ *Democratic Press and Tribune* (Chicago), September 15, 1858, quoting the *Washington Union*.

⁹ J. F. Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon* (1910), pp. 147-148, 215.

understood by the South as early as 1855. In that year Henry A. Wise wrote to his friend, Senator George W. Jones of Iowa:¹⁰

These *isms* [abolition] are not getting to be but are already treason. I would treat them as such. . . . I had rather see an earthquake swallow the mountains of the continent than to see disunion, but it will come unless these *isms* are repelled and suppressed as you would invasion or insurrection. Just hold up the rod in the N. West until the sun goes down and we will give 'em a Joshua defeat yet. You who are true in the non-slaveholding states are of the very truest, and you must not relax a muscle.

And in a later letter he named several prominent men in the Northwest who were true. Jefferson Davis warned his friend in Iowa in 1857.¹¹ "We shall have work enough for you, and whilst I am there [in the Senate] I can not afford to spare you. . . . Bring your state into line and secure first your own re-election and then a good colleague." Hammond of South Carolina saw in 1858 what most other Southern leaders thought they saw:

that the most valuable part of the Mississippi valley belongs to us [the South] and, although those who have settled above us are now opposed to us, another generation will tell a different tale. They are ours by the law of nature; slave labor will go over every foot of this valley where it will be found profitable to use it, and those who do not use it are soon to be united with us with such ties as will make us one and inseparable.¹²

This was the resolute language of the leaders of the South, and the leaders of the South at that time could speak with an authority not usual in American history. Before Douglas broke with his party in 1858 all energies were bent to hold the Northwest, and there was no good reason to doubt that the coveted region would keep its place in the Democratic column. Even after Douglas defied the Buchanan administration, Wise and Alexander H. Stephens and John A. Gilmer of North Carolina continued to fight for the Northwest, for the natural alliance of the Southern up-country and the upper Mississippi states.

No one ever saw quite so clearly as Lincoln the real meaning of this contest, and none did so much to defeat it. Without Lincoln, Douglas and Squatter Sovereignty would, I think, have held those two sections together despite the extreme demands of the lower South on the one hand and the East on the other.

¹⁰ Letter of July 27, 1857, in the Iowa Historical Society. I wish here to extend my thanks to Professor B. F. Shambaugh of the University of Iowa for courtesies and assistance rendered me in my search for materials for this study.

¹¹ Letter of May 9, 1857, in the Iowa Historical Department.

¹² Speech in the United States Senate, March 4, 1858. Hammond's idea was that the railroads connecting the West and the South would so stimulate reciprocal trade between the farmers and the planters that the resistance of the Chicago-Detroit region would be overcome.

Lincoln's work from 1858 to 1860 was to defeat this Southern purpose and to widen the breach already ominous between Douglas and his quondam friends. The ground he took was that of the Declaration of Independence and he made Jefferson his patron saint. He attacked the Supreme Court as an engine of partizan and reactionary opinion, while his newspaper supporters¹³ declared the national judiciary to be a "subtle corps of sappers and miners of our constitutional fabric . . . nine respectable old gentlemen, slave drivers who could not maintain one set of opinions five years in succession".¹⁴ This was radicalism to match the worst that Seward had ventured even to his New York and Michigan followers. But Lincoln went even further, and declared that the nation was a house so divided against itself that it could not be expected to stand.

Douglas had enough to do to maintain himself as a progressive nationalist against such an antagonist; but the South and the administration now turned upon him. The President "read him out of the party", withdrew all governmental patronage, and sent John Slidell, the master manipulator of the party, to Chicago early in August to instruct the faithful how to "make an end" of the renegade who had dared to defy the President.¹⁵ Never in the history of American party warfare has any leader been more bitterly attacked by the head of his own house. Wise published a letter¹⁶ declaring it "a tyrannical proscription which would, alike foolishly and wickedly, lop off one of the most vigorous limbs of the national democracy, the limb of glorious Illinois".

But the Southern leaders gave up their fight to control the Northwest after the results of the campaign of 1858 became known, and planned to prevent the nomination of Douglas in 1860 or to win another lease of power from the House of Representatives. Jefferson Davis said at Jackson, Mississippi, in 1858, that the next presidential contest would be in the House¹⁷ and this was the view of the national Democratic organ, the *Washington Union*. It was generally admitted from 1858 to 1860 that if the contest were carried into the House the South would win and Jefferson Davis or some other strong Southern man would be the victor.¹⁸

The great Southern senators planned to save their cause and the

¹³ *Democratic Press and Tribune*, July 29 and August 2, 1858.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, September 11, 1860.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, August 11, 1858.

¹⁶ *Illinois State Register*, October 12, 1858.

¹⁷ *Press and Tribune*, December 2, 1858, quoting the *Vicksburg Whig* of November 10, 1858.

¹⁸ *Press and Tribune*, October 3 and 4, and November 23, 1860; also testimony of Henry Adams in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XLIII, 661.

peace of the country by "carrying the election to the House". Douglas was to Davis quite as bad as Seward, whom every politician expected to be the Republican candidate. But Douglas could hold the Northwest against the great New Yorker and, with the electoral vote of the North divided, the candidate of the conservative or Southern Democracy would have the largest number of votes and the best chance of election in a contest in the House where the vote would be by states and where the Republicans could not hope to win a majority.¹⁹ Douglas Democrats would certainly unite with their former Southern allies rather than with their opponents at the North. The break-up of the Democratic convention at Charleston was therefore not such a radical thing as it seemed; under the existing state of things the Senate calculated reasonably upon the success of their programme. If William L. Yancey foresaw a disruption of the Union, Jefferson Davis certainly did not, except in a contingency which the great Southern leaders did not expect.

In many sections of the South the public faith in the ability of the Senate group to save the country from the Republicans was strongly manifested, and to save it by the plan I have outlined, for if the House should fail to elect, the Senate would proceed at the proper time to choose a president from the list of candidates for the vice-presidency. The New Orleans *Delta* declared early in July²⁰ that the candidates before the House would "unquestionably be Breckinridge, Lincoln, and either Douglas or Bell", and the *Charleston Mercury* said "we incline to believe that it will end in Gen. Lane being President of the United States".²¹ The more cautious *Richmond Enquirer*²² thought the list of candidates before the House would be Lincoln, Bell, and Breckinridge, and that probably none of these could win the necessary majority of states "and the conflict would thus be transferred to the Senate" where Hamlin and Everett would be the competitors, which Whigs ought to seek to avoid by giving up their ticket and supporting Breckinridge, to make the Democrats certain of victory, a result which all Southerners must of course prefer to the election of a New Englander. It does not seem to have occurred to the editor that the Republicans would win. On July 26, 1860, the *Enquirer* said "it is demonstrable that Lincoln can not be elected, and that in case of no election in the House, Joseph Lane will be elected by the Senate". These are typical expressions of the Southern press during the summer.

¹⁹ The Republicans controlled fourteen, at most fifteen, of thirty-three delegations in the House.

²⁰ *Daily Delta*, July 4, 1860.

²¹ *Charleston Mercury*, July 9, 1860.

²² *Richmond Enquirer*, July 13, 1860.

What the South regarded with utmost approval as a fairly certain deliverance from the democracy of Lincoln the Douglas men declared to be a Senate conspiracy to defeat the will of the people, and all the candidates but Breckinridge were urged to unite against

the dark and fatal plot concocted by James Buchanan, Jefferson Davis, John C. Breckinridge and Jo. Lane to throw the decision of the next presidency into the Congress of the United States. . . . These men hold the Senate of the United States in their hands as their fief and can wield it against the North and against the conservatism of the South like a ponderous engine of mischief; and they are now exulting upon what they conceive to be the certainty of giving to the Senate the choice of the Vice President, who shall be President for four years from the fourth of March 1861.²³

The *Mobile Register* of July 21—a Douglas paper—reports that “[it] is a conspiracy of the Democratic senators against Douglas, because he is in their way, and their object is to prevent an election by the people, knowing that the House is very little likely to agree, and in case of their failure to do so, then the whole game is in the hands of the Senate conspirators”.

Another feature of this campaign, not generally noted, is that the conservative Democrats concentrated their efforts on doubtful districts in the North and consequently deprived the Republicans of a majority in the House elected at the same time that Lincoln was chosen to the presidency—a plan not infrequently resorted to now in the fierce conflicts between conservatives and liberals in both state and national elections.

While the South was thus planning to save herself first from Seward then from Lincoln, whose nomination really prevented, if one may rely upon the appearance of things at all, the success of the Senate programme, the Northwest was passing through a crisis as vital to the interests of that section as to the success of the Republican party. The policy of Lincoln in 1858 had been radical. The leaders of Illinois had taken the “bit in their teeth” in 1858 and defied Seward, Weed, Greeley, and Crittenden, all of whom favored a tacit support of Douglas and who had held a conference in Chicago prior to the senatorial campaign in Illinois and had given Douglas assurance of their support.²⁴ Lincoln’s fight had been for principle, not simply for victory, while the great men in his party had held aloof and half wished for his failure. He knew that Seward was conservative, though he spoke the language of the radical, and that the success of the party in 1860 required a decent respect for the appearance of conservatism on the part of its standard-bearer. The

²³ The *Washington Constitution*, July 12, 1860, quoting the *Philadelphia Press*.

²⁴ J. F. Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon*, pp. 197, 215.

Republicans of the Northwest had built up a machine, an insurgent organization, on the basis of human rights as against the rights and immunities of property.

But the election of 1858 seemed to show that the idealistic principles of the Declaration of Independence do not win majorities in this country. The gains in Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa legislatures of that year were far from commensurate with the known growth of the anti-slavery counties.²⁵ In fact the property-holding classes of the Chicago region were going over to the Douglas plan of settling the slavery problem. And in 1859, in Iowa, with a population of over 600,000, the Republican candidate for governor, Kirkwood, after a most sensational and demagogical campaign, was able to poll but a meagre majority of 2500—a majority no larger than that of Grimes in 1854 when the population was not half as great.²⁶ It was plain to all that the conservative forces were holding their own and attracting many of the new-comers. Then came the John Brown raid, which appeared at once as a Republican move or the logical result of the teachings of the party. Many men of the Northwest, like Cyrus H. McCormick, pointed to this as the natural outcome of the house-divided-against-itself doctrine. Indeed the chances of the young Republican party to win in 1860 were decreasing, especially in these strategic states.

The great churches of the Northwest were becoming aroused to the dangers of radicalism. The Catholics made no denial that they were on the conservative side; one of the party cries of 1860 was that Douglas had bowed the knee to the Pope in Rome on his recent visit to Europe. The Episcopalian organ, the *Chicago Record*, acknowledged in December, 1860, that the bishops and clergy of that denomination had never raised their voices against the South or slavery.²⁷ But a much more effective influence among the staid property-holding people was that of the Presbyterians. This denomination was especially strong with the old families and its membership for this region in 1860 approached 150,000.²⁸ Between 1854 and 1858 a strong movement in favor of positive action in the synods against slavery had grown up. Dr. E. M. McMaster was the recognized spokesman of this sentiment. In 1857 he and his friends pro-

²⁵ The Indiana legislature of 1858 was composed of 75 Republicans and 75 Democrats; in Illinois the Democratic majority in the legislature was 8; while in Iowa the parties stood 63 Republican to 45 Democrat. Cf. *Tribune Almanac*, 1858.

²⁶ Louis Pelzer, *Life of A. C. Dodge*, pp. 243, 246-247.

²⁷ *Chicago Record*, December 15, 1860.

²⁸ Census of 1860, *Statistics of the United States*, miscellaneous volume, pp. 371-392. The actual membership cannot be ascertained, but the figure given seems to be a fair estimate from data given in the census returns.

cured gifts in land and money for the establishment of a theological seminary in Chicago. McMaster was selected as one of the professors and was looked to as the first president. But Dr. Nathan L. Rice, then of St. Louis, feared the new institution might become another Oberlin and appealed in a personal canvass to the ten synods of the Northwest to turn over the whole programme, with whatever assets there were, to the next meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, a body almost certain to be dominated by its Southern membership and ministers.²⁹

A vigorous campaign was waged during 1858 and 1859 by the leaders of both parties, with the result that Rice and the pro-slavery element "carried" eight of the ten synods. The national Presbyterian Assembly met in Indianapolis in May, 1859. A committee, of which Dr. B. M. Palmer³⁰ of New Orleans was chairman, reviewed the case and established the institution in Chicago, giving it the name which it now bears, the McCormick Theological Seminary. The election of professors was referred to the General Assembly, which removed McMaster by a vote of 314 to 45 and filled every chair in the new school with friends of Rice. A not inconsiderable influence in bringing about this overwhelming defeat of the anti-slavery forces was the active support of Cyrus H. McCormick, who gave \$100,000 to the endowment of the seminary and who practically demanded that his pastor³¹ should be the president. Rice was made president and within a year he delivered three lectures in the North Church, Chicago, proving from the Bible that slavery was not only not contrary to the Divine Will but positively sanctioned by both the Old and the New Testaments.³² Rice was undoubtedly the most influential man in his church in the Northwest and his victory was complete. It was openly declared by more than one witness to these incidents "that our church is sold to slavery". The anti-slavery leaders were denounced and McMaster was left for a long time without employment.³³

²⁹ T. E. Thomas, *Anti-Slavery Correspondence*, pp. 96 ff.; Leroy J. Halsey, *History of McCormick Theological Seminary*, chs. vi. and vii.

³⁰ Dr. Palmer was an extreme pro-slavery champion. Cf. *Life of B. M. Palmer* by T. C. Johnson, pp. 209-210.

³¹ Dr. Rice had been called to the North Presbyterian Church, Chicago, through the influence of Mr. McCormick in 1858.

³² Thomas, *Anti-Slavery Correspondence*, p. 106; Halsey, *History of McCormick Seminary*, p. 149.

³³ For the views of this assembly and the questions there discussed see *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 1859; I have been unable to get the *Review* for this date, but Johnson, *Life of Palmer*, p. 192, quotes from the account of the proceedings; *Princeton Review*, article by Charles Hodge; T. E. Thomas, *Anti-Slavery Correspondence*, ch. v., especially p. 111.

The slavery question had caused the break-up of the Methodist Church in 1844. The Northwestern churches adhered to the anti-slavery party; but from 1857 to 1860 a second division in Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa was imminent. The rule of the Northern church was that all slaveholders should be denied the sacraments, but the preachers had been unable to enforce this in most of the Northwest. When the question became acute in 1855 the annual conferences³⁴ whose territory lay along the Ohio and the Mississippi took sides openly with the South and declared slavery only an evil, some taking the ground of the Presbyterians that it was sanctioned by the Divine Will. Even the more Northern conferences were weakening in their anti-slavery attitude.³⁵

The national gathering of the Northern Methodists was to meet in Buffalo in May, 1860. Many petitions were sent up to this body demanding a change of the rule on slavery. A majority of those from the Northwest came from the northern counties of Illinois and asked that it be made compulsory on the ministers and that all slaveholders should be excommunicated. A very large number asked a continuance of the existing order of things.³⁶ The General Conference, fearing a second break in the ranks of the church, refused to act, only warning preachers³⁷ and laity to "keep themselves unspotted from this great evil". When the General Conference came to this conclusion the editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, the organ for the church of this section, joined Dr. Rice and declared that "slavery has never been proven to be a sin similar to polygamy, idolatry and drunkenness", but that it rested upon good Bible authority.³⁸ Thus another great influence was added to the Southern propaganda; and the Methodists were the most numerous of all the denominations in the Northwest, their churches offering accommodation for more than 700,000 worshippers as compared to 230,000 for the Presbyterians.³⁹

The Baptists, somewhat more numerous than the Presbyterians, commanded much less public attention because of their loose, incoherent organization; yet they joined the pro-slavery party. Their greatest leader, John M. Peck, who had opposed the introduction of slavery into Illinois in 1823, was in sympathy with the South and

³⁴ Annual conferences were the legislative units in this denomination corresponding to the synods among the Presbyterians.

³⁵ *Press and Tribune*, October 25, 1860.

³⁶ *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, May 23, 1860.

³⁷ J. M. Buckley, *A History of the Methodists in the United States*, pp. 499-501.

³⁸ *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, May 23 and June 6, 1860.

³⁹ Census of 1860, *Statistics of the United States*, miscellaneous volume, pp. 371-392.

ministered to slaveholding churches in St. Louis and Covington, Kentucky, during the closing years of his life.⁴⁰ During the excitement of the Lincoln-Douglas debates one of the correspondents of the *Christian Times*, the organ of the Baptists for the Northwest, ventured to suggest that "we as a Christian body, freely but tenderly, discuss and pass our views and consider whether we, the Church of Christ, are holding a clean hand in regard to slavery". But no editorial response came to the query, nor did the paper publish a line of approval of the cause for which Lincoln was fighting; and a careful perusal of the reports from all the local and general meetings of the Baptists in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin fails to show a resolution of any sort on the subject. When Lincoln was nominated by the Chicago convention, the editor of the *Christian Times* practically advised his friends and fellow-churchmen to vote for Douglas.⁴¹

Even the Congregationalists were unable to hold their membership to a radical anti-slavery programme, as was clearly shown in a meeting called by them in Chicago to pay tribute to the character of John Brown.⁴² Of the twenty-three preachers in Springfield in 1860 only three voted for Lincoln.⁴³ The denominational journals found space for articles on "the Condition of Turkey", "the Dying Hours of Aaron Burr", and the "Color of the Water of the Mediterranean", but never a word on the condition of their own country, where a great struggle between privilege and democracy was being waged. There were many earnest Christian people in the Northwest who lamented this break-down of the churches, but their voices were not heard. Churches then, as now and in history generally, were on the side of the "biggest battalions", of wealth and power.⁴⁴ It is no wonder that Lincoln could not bring himself to join any religious denomination; for one thing is certain, had the great cause which he represented been left to a plebiscite of the churches, it would have been overwhelmingly defeated.

Late in 1859 it was plain to the wayfaring man that Douglas was stronger than he had been in 1858, and it was equally clear to astute leaders like John Wentworth and Joseph Medill of Chicago that Douglas was playing into the hands of the South in its last political

⁴⁰ Rufus Babcock, *Memoir of John Mason Peck, D.D.*, chs. xxx.-xxxi.; *The Christian Times* (Chicago), August 25, 1858.

⁴¹ *The Christian Times*, May 23, 1860.

⁴² *Ibid.*, October 25, 1859.

⁴³ Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon*, p. 276; J. G. Holland, *Life of Lincoln*, pp. 236-239.

⁴⁴ I have taken into account only the larger denominations, but there is evidence to show that even the smaller churches had ceased to agitate against slavery.

campaign for national power. They had learned to "play the game" too, and they were bent on putting Lincoln forward as a conservative—"a Henry Clay Whig"; the time for sharp though just attack upon the Supreme Court, for an idealist appeal like that of the Declaration of Independence, had passed. Lincoln did not oppose though he never publicly assented to their idea of putting property above human rights.⁴⁵ But when he spoke at Cooper Institute in New York in February, 1860, he was careful to found his doctrines upon the Constitution and the "Fathers", and not upon the great Jeffersonian dictum that "all men are created free and equal". He did not, in the East, say that the house was hopelessly divided, and his utterance was everywhere regarded as conservative; so much so that Lincoln himself said the people of the West did not think much of the speech and he did not blame them.⁴⁶ But this attitude was necessary both for the East and the West in 1860, if the Republicans were to win.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Chicago Convention put forward the promise of a free homestead to every new-comer, that it guaranteed liberal wages to the laboring man, high prices to the farmers, and general prosperity to all other classes. The strong human appeal of 1858 was entirely overshadowed by these worldly-wise resolutions.⁴⁷ The surrender by the Republicans of their idealistic resolutions of 1856 did not take place without a struggle. Joshua R. Giddings offered to insert passages from the Declaration of Independence, but he was voted down. When, however, he was about to bolt the convention, George W. Curtis saved the day by an adroit move which won, at least in words, the point on which Giddings could not get a hearing, and the second resolution of the platform was inserted.

Two important issues had been forced upon the party of "moral ideas": (1) the Pennsylvania Democrats and the old-line Whigs, some of whom must be won, were demanding a protective tariff, and both the Cameron men and the Bates delegates were asking for the substitution of a high tariff plank instead of the roseate language of the Declaration of Independence; (2) the homestead bills which had been defeated again and again in a Democratic Senate had become very popular with the Germans and other Western immigrants who

⁴⁵ Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln; Complete Works*, I. 532-533.

⁴⁶ George H. Putnam, *Abraham Lincoln*, p. 258, where the correspondence concerning the Cooper Institute address is published.

⁴⁷ Edward Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, pp. 291-294; Murat Halstead, *National Political Conventions of 1860*, pp. 136-137; *Proceedings of First Republican Conventions*, pp. 136-137, 140-142.

were urging the free distribution in small tracts of the public lands.⁴⁸ The candidate who would endorse these "planks" would win votes from the followings of Cameron and Bates and Chase, and Lincoln was not averse to either. Besides, the public though not real radicalism of Seward must be counteracted by an avowed conservatism which would not only attract the groups already indicated but satisfy the Western men, for the latter were growing timid in the face of the dangers which were constantly held up by supporters of the South in the Northwest as the consequence of Republican success.⁴⁹ There can be no doubt that the homestead policy greatly influenced Illinois, or that the tariff won Pennsylvania. And when Lincoln's nomination was announced by the Chicago Republican papers it was, indeed, as a Henry Clay Whig, not as an anti-slavery candidate. There was some criticism of this on the part of idealists West and East, but the wise men who had captured the party knew that idealism had never won an American political campaign.⁵⁰ The Republican standard had been lowered in order to win the strategic states of the Middle West and to prevent the election from being carried to the House of Representatives.

Still the three states under consideration would have given their electoral votes to Douglas but for the loyal support of the Germans and other foreign citizens led by Carl Schurz, Gustav Koerner, and the editors of the *Staatszeitung* of Chicago. Schurz had enlisted for the war, and from 1858 to 1861 he called out to his countrymen everywhere to rise in arms against the South.⁵¹ "A solid column of German and Scandinavian anti-slavery men [are] here who know how to handle a musket and who will fight too", was one of his appeals; which shows something of an enthusiasm not welcomed even by the head of the ticket.⁵² But the idealism of the foreigners was supplemented by the work of the railroads which built new towns along their lines and peopled their prairie lands with new and idealistic settlers.

The Illinois Central Railway Company, supported by the other railroad corporations, was a conservative force in politics. It was

⁴⁸ B. S. Terry, "Die Heimstätten-Gesetz-Bewegung", in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, 1902-1903.

⁴⁹ Gustav Koerner, *Memoirs*, II. 90-92; Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon*, ch. VIII.

⁵⁰ For motives of the platform-makers see F. Bancroft, *Life of Seward*, I. 530-531.

⁵¹ Speech delivered in Chicago September 30, 1858.

⁵² But Schurz himself lowered the standard late in the campaign when he addressed an audience of south Illinoisians: "[We shall] adopt a policy which will work the peaceful and gradual extinction of slavery; for if we do not we shall have to submit to a policy which will work the gradual extinction of liberty." *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Anti-slavery Society*, p. 34.

largely a creation of Douglas, Sidney Breese, the Dodges of Iowa and Wisconsin, and other Democratic politicians who hoped to give the West a new stimulus not unlike that which DeWitt Clinton had given when he opened his Erie Canal. The capital for the venture had been found in New York and Boston. The same group of men directed the affairs of the Illinois Central that directed the Panama Railroad and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company—Aspinwall, Robert Schuyler, president of the New York Central, and Thomas Ludlow, president of the Panama Railroad Company, all Democrats and all deriving great benefits from the subventions of the federal government.⁵³ The Mobile and Ohio Railroad, which received a grant of land from the federal government at the same time the Illinois Central received its grant, was likewise under the same control. Thus a group of capitalists living in New York and Boston connected with the transportation interests of New England and the Middle States, controlling the only means of transit across the Isthmus of Panama, interested in the larger commercial affairs of China and India, exercised great power in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and the states southward toward the Gulf. They were in closest affiliation with senators and representatives⁵⁴ and had been accustomed to control politics when it suited their interests to do so.

Yet the "Illinois Central", in spite of its conservative, even reactionary, intentions, contributed largely to the success of Lincoln and his party. The immense tract of land lying in middle Illinois which it had received from the national government was sold rapidly to immigrants from New England and from Germany. The land agent of the road published a guide to foreigners which was widely circulated in Germany and which directed all new-comers to this region.⁵⁵ About one million acres of land was disposed of to settlers during the years 1856 to 1857 and a great many of the 411,900 souls added to the population of Illinois alone between 1856 and 1860 came as a result of the railroad development. Towns sprang up along the railways in a phenomenal manner; Dunleith, for example, counted a population of 5 in 1850 and 2000 in 1859; Urbana had about 1000 in the former year and 4000 in the latter, while Centralia was an open prairie in 1854 and a thriving town of 2500 five years later.⁵⁶ The

⁵³ W. K. Ackerman, *Sketch of the Illinois Central Railroad*; also an anonymous *History of the Illinois Central* (1900); *Fergus Papers*, no. 4, *Early Illinois Railroads*.

⁵⁴ "Memoirs of George W. Jones", in manuscript, in the archives of the Iowa Historical Society.

⁵⁵ Pamphlet reports of the Illinois Central Railroad, 1855 to 1860, in Chicago Historical Society Library.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, list of towns and their growth.

people who came to the state at this time were Germans, English, Scotch, and New Englanders, and they brought with them opinions and ideas hostile to slavery and to the South and they settled in the evenly balanced middle counties of Illinois where a few votes and a little anti-slavery propaganda counted for much. A comparison of the accompanying maps shows how the leaven was at work, how the hostile corporations were contributing mightily to the cause which they opposed. What I have said as to Illinois applies with equal force to Iowa, where conditions were similar and, as we have seen, the conflict was close.

The conservative trend which held back Chicago, Springfield, and other towns like Dubuque, Iowa, was counteracted by the foreigners, whose property interests had not overcome their idealism and who saw in Lincoln, despite his silence or quiet disclaimers, the champion of the essential American ideas of human equality and freedom. These little colonies planted in the border counties are responsible for the changes which the map discloses, while of course the stable majorities of the solid northern counties did the rest.

The count showed that the Republicans polled in these states 387,603 votes, or a majority over all other candidates of only 30,000,⁵⁷ while in the whole Northwest Lincoln's majority was only 6600 over all other candidates. A change of one vote in 27 would have given these states to Douglas, and a change of one vote in 20 would have given him the whole Northwest, and the contest would have been transferred to the national House of Representatives where the South would almost certainly have won.

It seems, therefore, fair to conclude that the flood-tide of Republican idealism was reached in 1856-1858; that the able and well-organized aristocracy of the South came near to winning their point—an election in the House; that the property and religious influences of the Northwest compelled Lincoln and his advisers to recede from the high ground of 1856-1858; and finally that the contest was won only on a narrow margin by the votes of the foreigners whom the railroads poured in great numbers into the contested region. The election of Lincoln and, as it turned out, the fate of the Union were thus determined not by native Americans but by voters who knew least of American history and institutions.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

⁵⁷ *Tribune Almanac*, 1860.

DOCUMENTS

1. Senator Few on the Second Session of the First Congress, 1790.

THE following letter, found by Dr. Edmund C. Burnett in Room 17 ("Overflow") of the Capitol building at Atlanta, Georgia, in a bundle marked "Letters, 1790-1838", needs little comment. Its writer, Colonel William Few, had been a member from Georgia in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and was one of Georgia's first senators, serving in the Senate from March 4, 1789, to March 2, 1793.

NEW YORK August 17th 1790

Dear Sir

Congress has finished the business of the Session. We adjourned on Thursday last, after having passed forty eight Acts, which I imagine will, by this opportunity, be transmitted to you by the Secretary of State, whose duty it is. Some of them you will perceive are important and very interesting to the States and I am sorry to observe that those Acts which are of the highest importance were the most controverted, and are the least approved of. The Act for making provision for the National debt and assuming of the States Debts was more than six Months on its passage through Congress, and in its progress assumed various shapes, and was opposed on various principles. Some were for assuming of all the State Debts and funding of the whole National Debt at an annual Interest of six per cent—which would probably have swelled the Debt of the United States to more than 80 Millions of Dollars; and the yearly interest of this Debt it was contended the United States could pay with ease, if proper principles of taxation were established. Others were of opinion that policy forbid the United States involving of themselves in a greater debt than would be accumulated by funding of the Debt of the United States only at an Interest of four per cent, and some indeed were opposed to assuming, or funding on any principle. These clashing opinions were agitated in both Houses of Congress, until by a kind of compromise they produced the Act in its present form, with the assent of only a small majority of Congress. How far it will meet the approbation of the people of the States, a little time will discover.

Agreeable to this Act the Debt of the United States the ensuing year¹ will be 2,660,861 Dollars including the interest of the foreign Debt, and the Expenses of Government. This sum it is estimated can be raised from the duties on imports and tonage, but when the Interest becomes due on the assumed Debt, some other mode of taxation must unavoidably be adopted, and I find that some of our Statesmen are of opinion that it will be advisable to levy a direct tax either on the lands or poles of the Citizens; but the most prevailing opinion is that Congress will at their next Session pass a general Excise act and perhaps a Stamp Act. You see these measures all tend to a high toned Government, and it is easy to perceive that there are powerfull individuals that are Strenuous advocates for it, and I must confess to you, that I have my apprehensions that Congress will be disposed to run into that extreme; per-

¹I. e., probable annual charges.

haps it is a natural consequence after the feeble Government as we have had for sometime past; but I trust the minds of the Americans are sufficiently enlightened to investigate the principles of their Government, and clearly ascertain their invaluable rights, and timely pursue with firmness such Constitutional measures as will best secure them.

You will see that by the Act for Settling the amounts and claims of the different States against the United States, the Commissioners are vested with full powers to Judge and finally determine on the legality and equity of every claim, according to their understanding of the matter; and to ascertain on certain principles what may be due to, and from each of the States. And it also allows farther time for the States exhibiting accounts and evidence. I have no doubt but you will see the indispensable necessity of our States attending to this interesting business, otherwise we shall be loaded with an enormous debt when perhaps if timely exertions are made to collect and transmit the accounts and claims of every nature against the United States, with the best vouchers and evidence in support of them that the nature of the case will admit, we should on principles of Justice be entitled to receive a balance from the United States.

The enclosed paper contains the treaty of the United States with the Creek Indians,² and notwithstanding one of its objects was to secure peace to the State of Georgia I am apprehensive that the terms will be very offensive to the Citizens of that State; for it is too obvious, that the third and fourth Articles³ are injurious and dishonourable to them. I will not here animadvert on the Constitutionality of, or the consequences that treaty may produce, but assure you that every possible exertion was made by the Senators of Georgia in every stage of the business to prevent its origin and adoption on those principles and on the question in Senate to consent and advise the President to ratify the Treaty we made every effort to have those two articles passed over in order to introduce an article to revise and explain them, so as to have secured our territory and a return of the property that has been taken by the Indians, and when that could not be effected we remonstrated in the most pointed terms against the Constitutionality, the Justice, and policy of the measure and have marked the questions with our negative. Genl. Jackson and Col. Gunn⁴ are going on to Georgia and inform me they will both attend the Assembly at Augusta in Nov^r next and to them I must refer you for further information relative to this negotiation, and proceedings of Congress,

I am Dear Sir with much respect Your most
Ob^{dt} Hum^l Serv^t.

W FEW

[Address on wrapper:] His Excellency
Edward Telfair Esqr
Governor Georgia

[Endorsed:] Communication
Hble William Few
17th August
Ordered to be filed
16th Septem^r 1790.

² Treaty of August 7, 1790.

³ Respecting restoration of white and negro captives, and respecting boundaries.

⁴ James Jackson, representative from Georgia in the First Congress, and James Gunn, Colonel Few's colleague as senator.

2. *Records of the Settlers at the Head of the French Broad River,
1793-1803.*

IN one of the early issues of the REVIEW (II. 691-693) certain records of conventions or public meetings of an isolated settlement in southern Indiana in 1785 and 1787 were printed, as illustrative of the manner in which frontier American communities have spontaneously generated and maintained some sort of governmental organization, sufficient to suppress disorder and to protect the rights of their members. Other illustrations of the manner in which this process has been effected by communities outside the pale of regular government have been printed elsewhere.¹ The artless record printed below is still another monument of this tendency, having some interesting peculiarities due to the circumstances which seemed to place the community in question outside the jurisdiction of any formal government then existing. The paper was found by Dr. Edmund C. Burnett, filed with papers in the boundary case between Georgia and South Carolina, in the office of the Secretary of State at Atlanta. The date June 30, 1803, has been written at its beginning but is perhaps the date of presentation to Governor Milledge.

The settlers whose rudimentary records are here printed represent themselves as seated in a district south of the southern boundary of North Carolina and north of the line which marked the southward boundary of the cession made by South Carolina to the United States in 1787. The former line, it was well understood, should be the parallel of 35° north latitude. The latter was understood to run westward from the head of the north branch of the Tugaloo River. It had been so fixed in the agreement with Georgia made at Beaufort in 1787, and South Carolina's cession of that year to the United States had been understood to consist of the long strip extending westward to the Mississippi between these two lines, thought of as parallel lines some twelve miles apart. In reality the head of the north branch of Tugaloo River lies north of the true parallel of 35°. But that parallel, the southern boundary of North Carolina, was then understood to run some twelve miles farther north than it actually runs according to its true position.

These settlers on the head waters of the French Broad, dwelling in what is now Transylvania County, North Carolina, accordingly supposed themselves to be in the east part of the strip lately ceded by South Carolina to the United States, the eastern boundary of which was the top of "the ridge or chain of mountains which divides

¹ See Professor Turner's remarks in this REVIEW, I. 78.

the eastern from the western waters". Hence their belief that they were in no jurisdiction, and their attempt to organize for the protection of their interests.

The survey of November 14, 1797, alluded to in the entry under October, 1798, was that which, in accordance with the Cherokee treaty of July 2, 1791, was carried out in the late summer and autumn of 1797 by General Andrew Pickens as United States commissioner.² A letter of Pickens printed in the *American State Papers*³ shows that he made the North Carolina boundary line run north of these settlers and the Indian boundary (of the Hopewell treaty of 1785) east of them. He reports the settlement to consist of forty or fifty families.

The entry under January, 1799, must be wrongly dated, by the mistake so frequently made in January, and should be January, 1800, for Captain Butler's survey, under the Tellico treaty of October 2, 1798, took place in the summer of 1799, as is shown by Pickens's letter just mentioned.⁴ Captain Butler ran his line from the Great Iron Mountain considerably south of southeast, and quite to the west of the district in question. If his line had been accepted,⁵ the settlers would have been on land purchased from the Indians. Their memorial of January 8, 1800, praying to be ceded to South Carolina, may be seen in the *American State Papers*,⁶ signed by "Matthew Patterson and others". The committee to whom the memorial was referred by the House of Representatives reported in favor of such a cession,⁷ but no action was taken.

The last entry in the document shows that the settlers supposed themselves to come within the terms of the agreement between the United States and Georgia of April 24, 1802, in which the United States ceded to Georgia all lands "lying within the United States, and out of the proper boundaries of any other state, and situated south of the southern boundaries of the states of Tennessee, North Carolina, and South Carolina, and east of the boundary line hereinbefore described as the eastern boundary of the territory ceded by Georgia to the United States". But when the southern boundary line of North Carolina received its final adjustment, these settlers must have been found to be within the boundaries of the latter state.

² *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), p. 168 (Royce's *The Cherokees*).

³ *Public Lands*, I. 103-104.

⁴ See also *Fifth Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 181. All the lines of surveys are shown on the map accompanying this report.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-183.

⁶ *Public Lands*, I. 104.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 103.

June 30th 1803.

Head of French Broad river 1793 south of North Carolina and North of South Carolina seated^a line to the united states. A meeting on other occasions whereas we are setting on land under the present circumstance no state can give us rights to it nor take us under jurisdiction untill general government shall put us in some State therefore we think it good for us to adapt some Rules of Civilisation As near agreeable to law as may Be as we belong Equally to Every state Resolved that we will not enter survey nor take out rights in any state untill general government shall impower some one state to give us grants that we will not Rent Leas nor purchases any such fraudulent titles from any other person what ever and that we will Do our Best indeavour to Defend general government.

Head of French Broad river at a meeting 1794 Whereas some of the Lore^b order of Indians have Been in trading thair Baskets and have told us that this land we live on Belongs to them therefore we think it good to send a man to Enquire of the Cheifs for the truth of it and if so to ask leave to Continue our settlement untill the[y] sell it to Congress. The Result of the Indian Council is that we are their peaple and to Continue on the land.

At a meeting in 1795 Whereas it is known that the Indians have gave us liberty to Continue on the land Sundry Designing men from North Carolina have shown us grants for the land we live on which is Dated long Before our settling here which the[y] hed Obtained By fraud and faults return of survey from the state of North Carolina for Indian Land to which we Do hereby Resolve not to submit to But by Due Cours of law

1796 Whereas Congress have passed a law to Remove all white peaple of the Indian land^c Be it Resolved that Reuben Allen Be and he is hereby appointed to go out and Call the Cheifs of as meny towns as he Can collect to geather in Council and Enquire if the[y] mean to Complain to the presedent a gainst us settlers. At a meeting after the Return of M^r Allen with the result of the Indian Council which is that you must not Be turned of if you keep the pease and not hurt us when we come in to hunt But we Do not want any more to Come their But we settlers find By woful Experience that these land holders have Allready Brought five unjust and vexatious Suits a gainst us therefore we think it good for us to hire a mathimetition to show us whare the thirtyfifth Degree of North latitud will pass our settlement which is the south Boundery of North Carolina claimed By the Constition and public laws of that state which we trust will amount to a positive against these unjust Claims.

Head of French Broad river October 1798 at a general meeting Whereas of the fourteenth Day of November Last the Indian line was plainly ascertained and Distinctly marked round our settlement Which have put the nearest of us who Content against those fraudulent and unjust Claims about one mile and half on Indian Land and as horse stealling has Been somuch Complained of in the ajessent states around us we think it good for us to appoint three men as Near on the Leading rodes through our settlement as may Be Mathew patterson Richard Williamson William Allen you are here By appointed to Exammin all

^a Ceded.

^b Lower.

^c Act of May 19, 1796, sect. 5. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, I. 470.

travellers as well those that attempt to settle as those that pas through aspicily¹¹ those that Enquire the way to fains and if the Do not support a reasonable carecter to take them Back the way the Come to the first justice for furdur Examination according to Law and hinder if possible any more from setling here in open violation of the Law of the united States

Janeary 1799 [1800] Whareas the Indian line was run above our settlement By Captain Butler Last Summer we have some hope that the Land is purchased on which we have setled therefore we think it good to petition to Congress to annex us to some one state and as we are in the antient Limits of South Carolina we wish to be Reseated¹² Back to that state.

October 1802 Whareas we find that Congress hes seaded us to the State of Geaorgia therefore we think it good to petition the Genereal Assembly of this State to Do to and for us as in their Wisdom think Best.

Richard Williamson

Ruben Allen

William Allen

George Welleimson?

Samuel deves Son William Son

James Williamson

James Allene

James Allen

Robert Lee

Joseph Beezley

[Addressed:] State of Geaorgia

Jeffeson County Lewesvilly¹³

To his Excellency the Governor John Milledge.

Mathew Patterson

Benjamin Olliver

peter Oens

John pendergrass

George Glesnar

3. *The First American Discoveries in the Antarctic, 1819.*

THE South Shetland islands were first discovered by Dirk Gerritsz in 1598. In 1819 they were rediscovered by an Englishman, William Smith of Blyth. On February 19 and 20, while sailing from Montevideo to Valparaiso, he saw land there. On October 15 of the same year, while again sailing from Montevideo to Valparaiso, he saw the land in lat. 62° 30' S., long. 60° W., and landed a party which planted the Union jack and took possession for Great Britain.¹ For an independent discovery by Americans a few months later, the only authority hitherto seems to have been Edmund Fanning, who in his *Voyages around the World* (New York, 1833)² states that the *Hersilia* of Stonington, Connecticut, Captain James P. Sheffield, visited the islands in February, 1820, and began there

¹¹ Especially.

¹² Receded or retroceded.

¹³ Louisville in Jefferson County was then the capital of Georgia.

¹ The authoritative account is in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, III, 367-380.

² P. 430.

the American seal-fisheries which proved so immensely profitable but resulted early in the extermination of the seals. The following letters, to which the managing editor's attention was directed by Professor James M. Callahan, cast further light on the American discovery.

James Byers of New York, the writer of the first letter here printed, was a ship-owner, originally of Springfield, Massachusetts.³ His letter is preserved in the Department of State at Washington, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, in Miscellaneous Letters, vol. 77. General Daniel Parker, to whom it was addressed, was at the time adjutant-general and inspector-general of the United States army. The enclosed letter of Captain Fanning is not found. Other letters of Mr. Byers, near by in the same volume, show that the Stonington vessel reached the islands in December, 1819, coming from the Atlantic Ocean and South Georgia, so that knowledge of Smith's discovery is out of the question, and the American discovery rested, as Fanning states, on a reading of Dirk Gerritsz. These letters also show that Byers had promptly sent other vessels, which he hoped would arrive at these rich hunting-grounds in October, 1820.

The second letter, written by Secretary Adams to President Monroe, then at his country estate in Virginia, is found in its chronological place among the Monroe Papers at the Library of Congress. The letter of Byers which was enclosed in it is probably not the same as that here given, and seems not to be extant. The same is true of Jeremy Robinson's letter of November 15, 1819, from Valparaiso, though it is noted as having been received at the Department on August 19, 1820. Its absence is to be the more regretted, if it contained any information obtained from officers or crew of Captain William Smith's ship, which made its second arrival at Valparaiso in November.⁴ A letter from Robinson to Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell of New York, dated Valparaiso, January 23, 1820, telling of Smith's discovery in some detail, is printed in Niles's *Register*, XIX. 43. Niles, in the heading, says of the new island or continent, "It is said, however, to have been discovered some years since by some American whalers, and the knowledge concealed for mercantile purposes". There are further references to the matter at pp. 65 and 112 of the same volume.

President Monroe's reply to Adams, dated Highland, September 1, 1820, is found among the papers of John Quincy Adams. The pertinent paragraph, printed below, is contributed through the kindness of Mr. Charles Francis Adams and Mr. Worthington C. Ford.

³ Fanning, p. 419.

⁴ *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, III. 373.

Its phrases would lead one to expect that the missing letter of Robinson might be found in the archives of the Navy Department. But a search kindly ordered by the chief of those archives, Mr. Charles W. Stewart, has brought to light no such letter.

I. JAMES BYERS TO GENERAL PARKER.

NEW YORK 25 Aug^t 1820.

Dear Sir,

I have just rec^d your fav^r and can assure you it affords me great pleasure to learn that Gov^t is disposed to give the subject of the new Discovery a serious investigation. It is quite fashionable you know, among a certain class of citizens, to accuse our Administration of lukewarmness in regard to the Mercantile interest. But not being of that number, I wrote you as I did, in great confidence that Gov^t would be disposed to grant all proper protection. Since the receipt of your Letter, I have learned that the Secretary of the Navy is absent from the City on a visit to the North. I am sorry I could not see him, for I am quite confident I could satisfy him that the object is worthy the attention of Gov^t.

The first information I ever received respecting the new Discovery was from a Capt Sheffield who arrived at Stoneington last spring, from the new Islands. As soon as he reached this Country he wrote me a Letter informing me of his success and offering to out again in my employ. He had formerly been in my service and I knew him to be worthy of all confidence. In order to obtain correct information, I authorized Mr. Walter Nexsen, a respectable Mercht and also a partner in my Sealing enterprises, to go to Stonington and have an interview with Capt. S. Mr. Nexsen obtained the following particulars, from his Log Book.

The great New Island or Continent is in Lat. 61: 10 S., Long. 57: 15 W. Coasted about 50 Miles—saw no end South W. Returned to what he thought the S. W. end, and came to Anchor between a number of Islands, a short distance from the Mainland. He found pretty good Anchorage in 15 Fathom Water. On one of these Islands he took 9,000 fur Seal in 15 days. He had no more Salt or could [have] killed any number. He says he saw at one view 300,000 Seal. He thinks the Country is uninhabited and destitute of Wood. Water plenty and good. The Land runs about N^o East and S^t West. In addition to the above, I have learned from other sources of the existence of these Islands, and all nearly agree in L^t and Long. Capt Fanning late of the Spartan mentions the subject in the Letter enclosed. It is considered by everyone that the fact is fully established and it would afford great satisfaction to every American if our Government was the first to survey and name the new World. I should at first have written Mr. Adams on this subject, but being unknown to him I thought it best to make the Communication through you, thinking, that your very respectable station under Government would perhaps arrest the attention of the proper Dept. with greater effect than any representation from an unknown individual.

I am with respect
Sir your Ob^t
St
JAMES BYERS.

P. S. The British first took possession of South Georgia Island, from which they have taken great numbers of Seal and much Sea Eliphiant Oil. They would never suffer Americans to Seal there, as they claim the Islands as belonging to Great Britain.

[Addressed:] General Parker, Washington.

II. J. Q. ADAMS TO MONROE.

WASHINGTON 26 Aug. 1820.

Dear Sir,

The enclosed Letter, from J. Byers of New York to General Parker was delivered to me by that officer and relates to a subject of very considerable importance. To give you a more perfect understanding of its contents I enclose with it a Letter of 15. November 1819 from Jeremy Robinson of Valparaiso. General Parker says that more than twenty Vessels have been fitted out from New York, and have sailed or are about to sail upon Sealing and Whaling Voyages to this newly discovered Island or Continent. Byers says they will be on the spot before the English, but whether they can reach Latitude 61. 40. South in October which answers to our April is to be seen. I much doubt it.

If they do, and the English adventurers come there afterwards, we shall hear more of it. Nootka Sound, Falkland Island questions may be expected. I beg leave to recommend the affair to your particular consideration. The British Government just now have their hands so full of Coronations and Adulteries, Liturgy, prayers and Italian Sopranos, Bergamis and Pergamis, High Treasons and Petty Treasons, Pains, Penalties and Paupers,⁵ that they will seize the first opportunity they can to shake them all off, and if they can make a question of national honour about a foot-hold in Latitude 61. 40. upon something between Rock and Ice-berg, as this discovery must be, and especially a question with us, they will not let it escape them.

I desired General Parker to advise Mr. Byers to see the Secretary of the Navy, and confer with him about this project of a settlement and sending a Frigate to take possession. I hope this plan will meet your approbation. There can be no doubt of the right, and the Settlement is a very good expedient for protecting the real objects, to catch Seals and Whales. The idea too of having a grave controversy with Lord Castlereagh, about an Island Latitude 61. 40. South, is quite fascinating.

I send also another Letter from Jeremy Robinson of 17. January 1820, very long and interesting. This man has given us so much valuable information, and sees things with so much more impartiality, and therefore accuracy, than some others who have been there, that I almost wish you would forget his indiscretion by which he forfeited the commission he had obtained, and restore him to some subordinate agency. I shall have a translation made of the Long Letter from the Director O'Higgins to you which was forwarded through Robinson, and to which I suppose the Director will expect an answer, verbal or written.

With perfect Respect, I remain, Dear Sir,

faithfully yours

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

⁵ Allusions to the trial of Queen Caroline, etc.

III. PRESIDENT MONROE TO SECRETARY ADAMS (EXTRACT).

September 1, 1820.

The discovery of land in the Pacific, of great extent, is an important event, and there are strong reasons in favor of your suggestion to aim at the occupancy on our part. Communicate the documents to the Secretary of the Navy, and suggest the motive, asking how far it would be practicable to send a frigate there, and thence to strengthen our force along the American coast. I shall also write him on the subject. . . .

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

A Roman Frontier Post and its People: the Fort of Newstead in the Parish of Melrose. By JAMES CURLE, F. S. A. Scot., F.S.A. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1911. Pp. xix, 431.)

MR. JAMES CURLE, distinguished already for his brilliant conduct of the excavations at Newstead, 1905-1910, has now produced an altogether splendid volume on the subject. It is not necessary to comment on the excavations themselves which have drawn so old a secret from the romantic ground of Melrose and Eildon. The book fully justifies the labor and money spent. Everywhere (*e. g.*, p. 105) peeps out the cunning of the experienced excavator as well as the all-round equipment of antiquarian and ethnologist.

His method is intensive and extensive at once. Every item is minutely scanned and its importance in any direction seized and fully discussed; at the same time the author is always making use (*e. g.*, p. 168) of his really immense information on the German *Limes*, the African and Asiatic forts, the Roman military system in general, the history of the ancient pottery industry, the Roman and Celtic economic life, medieval documents, etc., to make his book a monument of comparative study. It is a glorified form of report. Constantly he "*paulo maiora canit*". He provides even the general reader with a plain account profusely illustrated of a chapter in Roman camp-life, interesting in its individuality. His intimate acquaintance with museums at home and abroad and with museum work perhaps contributes to the orderliness and lucid completeness of the book. The co-operation of experts in geology, botany, zoology, anatomy, and numismatics has been utilized. Mr. Curle is imbued with strict historical and scientific principles, not captured by the Sirens which lure men to rebuild lost plays of Sophocles or restore inscriptions from a few doubtful letters. His book is an example in sane and orderly method.

Chapter I. treats of the site of the fort on the Tweed and of the great legionary camp, probably Agricola's, traces of which were found adjoining the fort. In chapters II.-V. the fort itself, its walls, ditches, buildings, drains, and streets are discussed. As to size, it is the largest Roman fort yet excavated in Scotland and ranks like some German *castella* between the cohortian and the legionary. It seems to have been made over two or three times and held in four or five occupations or periods of occupation; the writer is not particularly clear on this point.

Chapter vi. takes up the Annexes, the west one containing the Bath which Mr. Curle describes in a fashion entertaining to the most general reader. The Newstead Bath was unique in being surrounded by a rampart apparently for defense, a testimony to the perils besetting continually this advanced outpost. Chapters vii.-xvi. tell of the contents of the numerous pits or wells, about 130 altogether, filled with rubbish and articles hurriedly hidden, almost all of them in the Annexes. In these a black mould seems to have acted as a preservative to leather and basket-work and the glaze of fine pottery, and the brass retains its golden hue. Skulls and shoes prove the presence of women and children in the Annexes. The finds of armor are second only to those of Carnuntum in number, rarity, and importance.

On page 169 there is an interesting detail study in the evolution of dress. The discussion of the beautiful visor-helmets and their use is lucid and convincing. But perhaps the most remarkable part of the work is the study of the pottery. Some exquisite specimens of *terra sigillata* are shown in their color. Glass was used for the windows and vessels of the fortress. In brief space it is difficult to convey an impression of the whole rich find and of Mr. Curle's lucid and modest exposition. Chapter xvii. sums up cautiously the probable history of "Trimontium".

Not only the learned author, but the publishers and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland under whose auspices the excavations have been carried to success, are to be congratulated on this massive and unrivalled book. Perhaps to the 1300 plans and plates might have been added a good map of Roman Britain for ready reference to places like Ardoch and Inchtuthill by the general student of classical history, who no less than the specialist in British antiquities may be attracted by such a work. The index is good.

W. F. TAMBLYN.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland, A.D. 1153-1214. Collected, with notes and an index, by Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL LAWRIE, LL.D. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1910. Pp. xxxvi, 459.)

So meagre is the material for Scottish history before 1286 that it would seem almost hopeless, to provide anything like *Jahrbücher* for that period. Still Lord Hailes did something of the sort, and quite recently Mr. Anderson has dealt with the period from 500 to 1286. Now Sir Archibald Lawrie, whose *Early Scottish Charters* the REVIEW noticed not long ago, offers a series of extracts covering sixty-odd years and two reigns only. The work has been patiently and carefully done, but the result, in proportion to the labor and pains that have gone to produce it, must be regarded as rather disappointing. The only contem-

porary chronicles available are those of Melrose and Holyrood, meagre enough in themselves and only very cautiously to be extended from Fordun and Wyntoun. In these circumstances the greater part of the material has to be derived from English writers, chiefly Hoveden, the *Gesta Henrici Secundi*, William of Newburgh and Jordan Fantosme. These are of course first-rate authorities, and the fact that they are now all available in excellent editions is no disparagement to Sir Archibald Lawrie's work. The difficulty lies in the fact that to illustrate Scottish history chiefly from English writers is, to a certain extent, to falsify or distort that history.

The development of the Scottish nation was accomplished, as in the other countries of Western Europe, by the formation of a royal government. But there were certain differentiae in the growth of Scottish royalty which if they hampered and even offered to check that growth were in themselves particularly interesting. Among these were the geographical and racial division between the highlands and lowlands and the corresponding difference in social structure, appearing in relatively unrestrained feudalism among the Normanized Teutonic population of the lowlands and the strong tribal survivals among the Keltic people of the northwest. This situation was further complicated by the presence of a Scandinavian element on the western coast. Clearly the strength of the crown lay in the southeast, and, it will be remembered, there was still good hope of a considerable extension of the kingdom southward. But here, although the border was not definitely settled, there was the vigorous and rapidly developing Angevin monarchy to be reckoned with. Finally, the Scottish crown could and did rely upon the Church.

Now of all these matters only the relations of Scotland to England and of the Scottish Church to the northern province of England and to the papacy, can receive anything like adequate illustration from English writers. For these reasons the present work, interesting and valuable as it is, must be regarded as disappointing and in a sense misleading.

This criticism is, however, no disparagement of the work of the painstaking scholar who has made the compilation. Indeed Sir Archibald Lawrie has quite clearly recognized and expressed the disadvantages under which he labored.

One is glad to have the document (no. LII.) relating to persons accused of theft made easily available for comparison with the assizes of Clarendon and Northampton, from which it shows an interesting variation. If, besides the accusation by the reeve and three lawful men of the vill, the testimony *trium hominum seniorum* can be had, the accused person is to be hanged without further to do. One wonders whether there is not perhaps some tribal influence to be discerned here?

Some points suggest themselves for criticism. One is surprised to find that on the vexed question of the Scottish homages Sir Archibald refers only to Palgrave and Miss Norgate. Dr. Wyckoff's Chicago dissertation may well be unknown in Scotland, but it seems impossible

that Sir James Ramsay's full and temperate treatment of the subject should be. The citations from Stubbs to illustrate the problem of scutage (p. 42) are unfortunate, and in view of the following quotation from McKechnie, superfluous; reference to Round, Maitland, and Baldwin would have been more to the point. In his use of proper names Sir Archibald shows an irritating disregard alike of ordinary usage and self-consistency—thus he uses Roncaille and Roncaglia, Gaufrid and Geoffrey, Waldeve and Waltheof indifferently, and surely it is rather late in the day to be writing of Benedictus Abbas and Matthew of Westminster. Misprints, not of a very serious character, occur on pp. 16, 32, 33, 95, 109, 138, 302; on p. 21, line 18, *nostri protectionis* should probably be *nostra protectione*; on p. 232, line 20, an *eo* seems to be wanted, and on p. 249, for Julius, read Lucius.

There is a copious index and the book is well printed on light paper that makes it pleasant to hold.

GAILLARD THOMAS LAPSLEY.

Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw. By F. M. STENTON. *Customary Rents.* By N. NEILSON. [Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, edited by Professor PAUL VINOGRADOFF, volume II.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1910. Pp. iv, 96; 219.)

THE two papers included in this second volume of the scholarly series edited by Professor Vinogradoff refer to a period that lies midway between the two essays in the earlier volume. One of those papers concerned itself with the later Roman Empire, the other with the eve of the Reformation. These belong in the Middle Ages proper. They are on closely allied topics. Although one purports to be a description of certain types of rural organization in northern England, the other an explanation of various customary rents paid by tenants, they reduce themselves alike to studies in the terminology used in the records of medieval manors.

Such studies are very laborious to the writer, but most useful to other students. They require minute and prolonged investigation, skill in analysis and comparison, and a sustained enthusiasm to carry through what must at best be a meagrely rewarded task. And yet such accurate studies lie at the basis of all subsequent constructive work, if the work is to be solidly founded. It was the great distinction of the late Professor Maitland that he performed both functions with equal effectiveness. It can hardly be considered derogatory to Mr. Stenton to say that he does not show a skill in presentation or a power of imagination that gives his work great constructive value, and that it must be estimated on the basis of its contribution to our knowledge of detailed facts.

The "Danelaw" to which he refers is the six modern counties of York, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Rutland. In this region the author makes a careful study of the meaning and connotations of the terms, "berewick" and "soke", as used in Domesday and

other early documents, and finds marked differences from the social conditions characteristic of other parts of England. The classes of men and their duties, as described in the *Rectitudines*, for instance, which probably refers to southern England, bear no real or close correspondence to what is found in the Danelaw. The second part of Mr. Stenton's essay is devoted more particularly to the meaning of the word "manor" itself as used in his district, or in varying senses in different parts of his district, and there is much of suggestive interest in his analysis, though it can hardly be even summarized here. In their bearing on the greater problems of early English history, Mr. Stenton's researches seem, to the reviewer at least, clearly to look toward the greater rather than the less freedom of the peasantry in earlier times; and to minimize the influence of the Norman conquest, except as it hastened and somewhat modified changes already in progress.

No living student probably is better fitted to compile a glossary of manorial terms such as forms the second paper in this volume than Miss Neilson. Her former studies of the manors of Ramsey Abbey, and others, were marked by insight and power of comparison, as well as tireless industry, and this enumeration of various kinds of customary "rents" paid by medieval manorial tenants shows the same qualities, and is drawn from an astonishingly large group of sources, printed and manuscript. The word "rents" as applied to these varied payments, however convenient, seems to us unwise. The modern suggestion of that word is entirely different, laying stress rather on simplicity than on diversity of payment; nor as a medieval term has it that recognized technical meaning. The almost infinite variety of manorial payments cannot, as this essay proves, be simplified by applying a single name to them. Apart from this general name, however, we have in this list the first extended, inclusive, and authoritative classification and definition of these terms, and it will be of the greatest service in manorial study. Some six or seven hundred such terms are defined, or at least discussed. Many of these innumerable forms of "silver", "penny", "gavel", "Scot", "bote", and "geld" are doubtless the same payments under different names, but even with this deduction their number and variety are striking. Miss Neilson, in addition to defining them as far as possible as they are used in contemporary documents, has introduced some degree of simplicity into the mass by classifying them according to their origin, as payments made primarily to the landlord, to the king and the Church, and subordinately to this, according as they arose from the agricultural duties, the servile status, the duties of purveyance, church responsibility, piety, contract, or other source. As a result there are few aspects of the life of a medieval peasant that do not come under review as a result of this enumeration.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

The Frankfort Book Fair: the Francofordiense Emporium of Henri Estienne. Edited, with historical introduction, original Latin text with English translation on opposite pages, and notes, by JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON. (Chicago: The Caxton Club. 1911. Pp. xviii, 204.)

A SUMPTUOUS book this and a handsome, with its handmade paper, its bold humanistic type, its wealth of illustration from the masterpieces of sixteenth-century engraving. Nor could the Caxton Club of Chicago well have hit on a theme more seductive to book-lovers than the story of the great fair which for almost two centuries was the central book-mart of Christendom.

The booklet which forms a text for the volume has, indeed, as its editor frankly recognizes, no very serious historical worth. The great Genevan publisher's tribute to the capital of publishing is of the genus *Laudatio*, and belongs to the history of literature more than to the literature of history. What it really tells about the Frankfort fair could be put into a page. It was a waste of labor to run down in the cyclopedias all its rhetorical allusions. The real account of the fair—filling, and deservedly, two-thirds of the volume—is the historical introduction of Professor Thompson. Beginning with the very invention of printing, this traces the whole course of the German book-trade and of Frankfort's part in it from its rise in the fifteenth century to the transfer of headship from Frankfort to Leipzig in the late seventeenth. It is almost precisely the period covered by the two published volumes of the great official history of the German book-trade; and it is on the solid basis of these researches of Kapp and Goldfriedrich that Dr. Thompson's study mainly rests. But his industry has laid under tribute a multitude of other sources, and to excellent purpose.

With all his industry, his work, alas, shows many marks of haste. Misprints are not few, and especially in proper names. Repetitions abound, and the repetition is not always faithful. Thus, on page 29, we are told, in two successive sentences, that the fairs of Leipzig and Augsburg had catalogues by 1580 and that the one had its first catalogue in 1595, the other in 1598. A few slips are more serious. Reuchlin was of course not the author of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, nor Duke George of Saxony an elector. Frankfort's woman publisher, the widow of Jonas Rosa, would hardly recognize herself as "Rosa, widow of Jona". George Willer is made the author, now of "the first catalogue of books for sale at a fair", now of "the first trade list of books appearing at all the fairs"; and both are ascribed to 1564. What Willer published in 1564 was a catalogue of his own stock, old as well as new; and the "first catalogue of all the fairs"—i. e., of all the Frankfort fairs from 1564 to 1592—was the work of Nicolaus Basse (or Bassaeus—Professor Thompson writes "Baseus"), though compiled from Willer's lists. That Christian Wechel was condemned by the Sorbonne and driven from Paris is no longer believed; it was only his

son Andreas who came to Frankfort. Thomas Platter nowhere lauds the Frankfort fair; and it was not in Herwagen's service that he visited it—though he managed Herwagen's business at Basel, while Herwagen went. Feyerabend, the greatest of Frankfort printers, should hardly have been mentioned without citation of Pallmann's monograph; and we should have been told where the much quoted "Marckschiff" can be found. The "Mess-Memorial" of Michael Harder, from which a page is printed in facsimile, is not a catalogue, but an account-book; and the "list of book titles in Michel Harder's catalogue" which is here reprinted in full is not, as might be inferred, a part of that "Mess-Memorial", but compiled by its modern editors to explain it.

Vexatious as are such oversights in such a book, they cannot seriously mar the solid worth of its narrative; and so chattily, so sensibly, with so catching a love of books and their makers, is the story told that all else will gladly be pardoned it.

Le Concordat de 1516: Ses Origines, son Histoire au XVI^e Siècle.

Par l'Abbé JULES THOMAS, Chanoine Honoraire. In three parts. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1910. Pp. xii, 448; 415; 479.)

EACH of these three volumes covers a definite field in the history of the Concordat of 1516. Part I. deals with the origin of the Concordat; part II. with its application; part III. with the subsequent history of the instrument down to 1589. The work is printed with the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of Dijon. The subject was originally proposed by the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, in 1905, but it may be doubted if the French government, in the light of the recent dissolution of the Concordat of 1801, approves of the author's findings.

The work is an advanced expression of modern Catholic reactionism. Its medievalism is startling. The Abbé Thomas assumes the position of St. Thomas Aquinas and that whosoever may have added to or taken from the words of the great Dominican thwarts the divine legation of the Church. In part I., pages 9-28, a series of theses are set up which remind one of the schoolmen, in sustaining which the author "quotes Scripture for his purpose", besides encyclicals of Gregory XVI., Pius IX., and Leo XIII., a letter of Pope Gelasius (492-496), one of Osius, bishop of Cordova, to Constantine, treatises of Geoffrey of Vendome and Yves of Chartres, findings of the councils of Orleans in 511 and of Macon in 585, and the Code of Gratian.

"La société civile n'est point née d'un contrat social ni des suffrages d'un peuple. Elle est issue de la nature même de l'homme, en qui Dieu a imprimé l'instinct de s'associer à ses semblables et le désir de la vie commune. . . . À ce point de vue, le contrat social et les suffrages du peuple, tant vantés par Rousseau, ne sont que des pétitions de principe. . . . La société civile est confinée tout entière dans les limites de l'ordre naturel. . . . Tout autre apparaît la société religieuse. . . . Elle use des biens de l'ordre naturel, mais pour y ajouter ceux d'un ordre supérieur,

celui de la grâce." These are words in which the voice of Boniface VIII. in *Unam Sanctam* seems to sound like an alien echo. There is "une royauté spirituelle"—the Church, and "une autre royauté"—the State. "L'ancienne tradition s'affirme sur ce sujet d'une manière unanime. Au Moyen Age, la doctrine est la même et nous en entendons plus loin les échos. Les papes modernes s'expriment avec autant de netteté devant les gouvernements."

The doctrine of the separation of Church and State is "des opinions fausses et perverses"; Leo XIII.'s declaration that "it is an absurd theory" is endorsed.

It is a relief to pass from this medieval atmosphere into a genuine historical chapter upon the Concordat as an institution and a discussion of the sources. The author has well-nigh exhausted the archive collections of Paris, the Vatican, Venice, Modena, and Florence, the Florentine sources being especially valuable. The remainder of part I. is a detailed study of the relations of France and the Holy See from Philip IV. to Francis I. The volume concludes with eighteen unpublished documents. In general it may be said that while the author so far has added nothing new of importance, much of the detail is new.

Part II. is purely institutional. It deals with church nominations, reserves, collations, ecclesiastical causes, appeals, canonical censure, and the morality of the clergy. Historically this portion is of real value; the actual working of the Concordat is shown. Fortunately there is little room for the author to assert medieval theories, but the foreword gives protection—*salva auctoritate ecclesiae*.

"Les rapports de l'Église et de l'État sont plus que jamais à l'ordre du jour. La manière dont la question fut résolue au XVI^e siècle n'est pas sans intérêt pour le XX^e. La face des choses a changé; mais les principes sont restés les mêmes, parce qu'ils planent au-dessus de toutes les contingences."

The third part has to deal with the history of the Concordat from its signature to the end of the Valois dynasty. The medieval viewpoint remains the same. The author regrets the dependence of the State upon the Church required in the agreement of Boulogne, and that the Church became "concordataire" in the sixteenth century, but finds consolation in the reflection that government support during the Reformation was needful. This last volume is much less fully annotated, and seems to be based largely upon secondary material. Chapter v., dealing with the States General of 1560, is particularly weak. Neither the works of the Chancellor L'Hôpital nor Isambert's *Collection des Lois* has been used; antiquated historians of the States General are cited and modern literature entirely ignored.

To sum up: The value of these three volumes consists chiefly in the wealth of new documents printed as *pièces justificatives*. The point of view is so medieval and the treatment of the subject so *ex parte* that their historical value is invalidated throughout. It remains for some

future scholar to use in a scientific manner the documents here brought to light.

J. W. T.

England und die Katholische Kirche unter Elisabeth und den Stuarts.

Von ARNOLD OSKAR MEYER. Erster Band. *England und die Katholische Kirche unter Elisabeth.* [Bibliothek des Kgl. Preussischen Historischen Instituts in Rom. Band VI.] (Rome: Loescher and Company. 1911. Pp. xxvii, 489.)

THIS stately volume by a former member of the Royal Prussian Historical Institute in Rome, now a professor in Rostock, is a noteworthy contribution to the right understanding of an involved and disputed period of English history. The author has not only laid under contribution the archives of Rome, especially the treasures of the Vatican, but has made extensive use of unpublished material in Great Britain, and has enjoyed the assistance and advice of the leading specialists in this field. The result is a significant addition to our means of comprehending the relations of the English Catholics with the Elizabethan government, and with the papacy, Spain, and their exiled compatriots on the Continent.

No question has been more controverted than the proportion of Roman Catholics to the general population of England under Elizabeth. Dr. Meyer subjects the problem to careful consideration and reaches the apparently conclusive result that the Roman adhesion, by 1580, was not more than 2.6 to 3 per cent. of the total population of the kingdom, and that, while it undoubtedly increased, its growth to 1680 was not more than proportionate to the general augmentation of the population. Elizabeth's success was made possible only by the smallness of the Catholic minority. The great falling away from the Roman obedience was in the first years of Elizabeth. The collapse of the ancient hierarchy, the attractiveness of services in the mother-tongue, the popularity of the strong and peaceful early reign of Elizabeth, and especially the total neglect of the spiritual interests of the Roman Catholics by the pope and their Continental fellow-believers till after the Bull of Deposition and the beginnings of the English mission, swept the bulk of the population into the Anglican communion. This process was assisted, Dr. Meyer holds, by the very important modification of the title of supremacy assumed by Elizabeth as compared with that worn by Henry VIII.—a difference the significance of which he believes to have been inadequately estimated. This great religious readjustment was not primarily the effect of legal pressure.

When at last Catholic zeal, especially that of England's own sons, undertook to regain the land through seminary priests, and later through Jesuits, a chapter was written which Dr. Meyer, Protestant though he is, shows to be one of the most heroic in missionary story. For the Roman missionaries as a whole the charge that they were conspirators

or deceitful when brought face to face with the government is false. There were conspirators enough on the Continent, but most of those who risked their lives in England were simply and honestly actuated by spiritual aims. Yet, even so, the situation was tragic in its impossibility of adjustment. The "bloody question", whether, in case of invasion, the missionary would hold to the party of the queen or that of the pope, was one which the government could hardly fail to put, the more so that the missionary priest was the adviser of the Catholic laity, and to give either answer was, to most missionaries, to risk soul or body. The persecutions under Elizabeth, cruel as they were, were marked by a statesmanlike policy absent from those of Mary and from those of contemporary Continental sovereigns, and by a relatively small number of victims.

The author shows, as has never been so conclusively exhibited before, that plots to murder Elizabeth, though not originating with the pope, had the full sympathy and moral support of Gregory XIII. His account of the Armada is valuable, but here he is on more familiar ground. Its defeat he ascribes justly to the skill of the English seamen and their new naval tactics. Lastly he sketches with great insight the quarrels in the ranks of the English Catholics themselves between the secular priesthood and the Jesuits, and the diverse policies, national and religious, pursued by the rival factions. The value of the volume is increased by a large appendix of hitherto unpublished documents, and a chronological list of manuscript sources, chiefly in Rome, with indication where they may be found. The two further volumes, in which the author proposes to continue his studies to 1689, will be awaited with anticipation.

WILLISTON WALKER.

The Reconstruction of the English Church. By ROLAND G. USHER, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Washington University. In two volumes. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1910. Pp. ix, 423; vi, 426.)

As in political, so in church history, it used to be the earlier part of Queen Elizabeth's reign which attracted the special interest of researchers. Father H. N. Birt has only recently reminded us that "the Elizabethan religious settlement" continues to be a fighting ground for Protestant and Catholic historians. Mr. Usher may claim the merit of drawing our attention to the less conspicuous problems of the constitutional settlement of the Church. He holds that the constitutional question was not seriously grappled with before the times of the great reorganizer, Archbishop Bancroft, the hero of his book. "Few things are more difficult for us to comprehend, who have been brought up to believe that the English Church was established in its present form by Elizabeth, than the great scope of the reconstruction of 1604" (I. 357). If his thesis is provable at all, Mr. Usher certainly is the man to do it

and to introduce a new reading into our ideas of English church history. His researches are solid, extensive, and critical. He has made use of unprinted materials—part of which are published as appendices to the second volume—to a much greater extent than other students in this section of church history. With all his minuteness, however, he never loses himself in mere detail, always combining painstaking statistical work with a broad view of the subject. Although, in a few cases, he goes perhaps a little too far in filling up gaps of tradition by means of supposition, he is, on the whole, careful to realize the limits of attainable knowledge. His judgment is sound and unbiassed. He is equally fair to the Anglican, the Puritan, and the Catholic, though his inward sympathy is on the side of the Church. It is his large, dispassionate view of all parties, his clear insight into the motive powers of Elizabethan and Jacobean church life, together with a great amount of new material, that will secure to these volumes unanimous recognition as a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the subject. This worth will not be lessened, even if the leading idea of the book should not be received in such a full sense as the author wishes to have it recognized.

The arrangement of the work is, partly, a weak point. Though it is easy and pleasant to read, as far as its style is concerned, which is always clear and often noble, the author is, at least in the first and third books, not as fortunate in the arrangement of his vast materials. What he offers in the first book is, for the greater part, a series of separate essays, well shaped in themselves, united under a common heading, but lacking either a cogent logical connection or chronological order. Besides, in some of these essays, the contents only to a small extent coincide with their respective titles. These deficiencies, enhanced through the absence of a detailed table of contents, make it at times difficult to find out where a certain topic is treated.

The first book, "Preparation for Reconstruction" (1583-1603) plainly shows the constitutional defectiveness of the Elizabethan Church, hitherto not realized to its full extent. After all, if the Church stood its ground during the queen's long and stormy reign, it may be juridically correct, but certainly not historically adequate, to describe its constitution as a legal chaos, or as a series of temporary makeshifts of disputable validity, still requiring fundamental "reconstruction". Perhaps the most important, certainly the most difficult task, undertaken in the first book, is the attempt to show, on statistical foundations, the proportional strength and the geographical distribution of Anglicans, Catholics, and Puritans. Even he who cannot agree with all of Mr. Usher's conjectures, will admire the amount of reliable work which is evidenced in three maps of England, showing the distribution of Catholic laymen, of Puritan ministers, and of Churchmen in 1603. The most impugnable point seems to me to be the author's conception of Catholic and Puritan forces in relation to the total of the English population. He gives the Puritans "perhaps fifty thousand able-bodied men" (I. 280); this equals,

counting families, say, 200,000 souls, or about one-twentieth of the whole population. As for the number of Catholics, after admitting that he has not found any satisfactory information, he hazards a guess of "750,000 or 1,000,000" (I. 159), *i. e.*, about one fourth or one fifth of England! If these figures are correct, the development under James I. and Charles I. becomes a puzzle. I am unable to verify the statistics of the Puritan party; but perhaps I may mention that for the Catholics, approaching the problem from another side than Mr. Usher does, I have arrived at the low figure of 120,000 or little more.¹

The second, comparatively short book, "Reconstruction", leads to the culminating point of the development, giving as it does an excellent, minutely detailed account of the English church history during the important years 1603 to 1605. The chief interest is concentrated upon the Hampton Court conference, the canons of 1604 and the visitation articles of 1605. The canons, in the author's opinion, are as epoch-making in the history of the English Church as the divorce of Catharine of Aragon and the Elizabethan Act of Supremacy. It seems quite possible to me to accept nearly every single statement of Mr. Usher's investigation, and still to decline his general conclusion as the exaggerated form of a sound idea. What Bancroft achieved was much indeed and may only now be fully appreciated: he did away with the legal discrepancies of the Elizabethan period; he drew a clear limit to the Church's dominion by codifying its constitution; and he introduced a regular administration instead of a system of more or less extraordinary measures. But all this may be described rather as the completion of the interior of a building already outwardly finished, than as a total "reconstruction", as Mr. Usher insists on calling it.

The third book, "Vindication of Reconstruction", covers the last five years of Bancroft's primacy (1605-1610). It shows how Puritans and Catholics, Parliament and law courts were each affected through the legal changes undergone by the Church in the preceding years. It further shows the improvement in the administration and in the economical and moral state of the Church itself. With this, it contains some topics which are only indirectly connected with the subject, such as the history of the Gunpowder Plot, the Oath of Allegiance, and the hierarchic organization of the Catholics. It is difficult not to persuade one's self that these subjects are dealt with here only because the "Reconstruction" of the English Church is to the author identical with the history of Bancroft's primacy. If we reduce this favorite idea of Mr. Usher's to its proper limit, we may gratefully admit that we owe to his laborious researches a valuable modification of our views of Elizabethan and Jacobean church history.

A. O. MEYER.

¹In a book recently published, *England und die Katholische Kirche unter Elisabeth* (Rome, Loescher and Company, 1911).

The National Church of Sweden. By JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury. [The Hale Lectures, 1910.] (London: A. R. Mowbray and Company, Ltd.; Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Company. 1911. Pp. xix, 459.)

THIS volume has been written "to promote brotherly intercourse between the Anglican communion and the Swedish Church". Its aim is to communicate to the English-speaking public such information concerning the ecclesiastical and religious life of Sweden as may lead to a higher appreciation of its history and people. It closes with the suggestion of an ultimate "alliance between the [estimated] thirty-two millions of Anglicans and the [estimated] seventy millions of Lutherans" (p. 441).

For this purpose the venerable Bishop of Salisbury has applied himself to the study of a large array of sources in the Swedish, as well as in translations, and offers bibliographical lists and references of importance. Within the few months limited for the preparation of these lectures, the scheme which he prepared for his work was too extensive, and as the result we find a mass of material industriously compiled without being well digested. If less time had been devoted to the geography, topography, and antiquities of the land, as well as to such mere episodes as the careers of Birgitta and Swedenburg, the studies bearing on the main object of the book could have been more extensive and thorough.

The plan throughout is to bring into prominence all points of agreement and resemblance between the Swedish and the English churches. In doing this the author has not overlooked the close connection between the Swedish and the German Reformation, or ignored the fact that the Swedish, while an episcopal, is none the less a Lutheran church. We miss, however, sufficient traces of acquaintance with the history and contemporary literature of the German Reformation, to assure results of permanent value. We may instance the author's almost complete dependence upon the English translation of Dorner's *History of Protestant Theology* for his knowledge of the latter half of the sixteenth century in Germany. Another example is his recognition of the services of Hase in "having conveniently printed in one volume" the Lutheran Confessions (p. 304)—an act first done officially when the Book of Concord was promulgated, more than 250 years before the edition of Hase, which is now antiquated, that of J. T. Müller (tenth edition, 1907) being the standard text for modern scholars. If the author had been at home in the Reformation literature of the Continent, he would probably have traced the connection between the extract which he quotes at length (pp. 232 ff.) from the *Directory of Public Worship* of 1571, on the office of bishop, and Melancthon's treatment of the same subject in the Appendix to the Schmalkald Articles of 1537. Nor is the study of either the Swedish or the English orders, and especially their resemblances, complete without the recognition of how much both are dependent upon what had been previously accomplished in the same direction in Germany.

As these lectures were delivered in Chicago, much attention is given to the history of the Swedish emigration to America, the ecclesiastical relations of the Swedish immigrants, and the growth and present condition of the influential Swedish Augustana Synod of the Lutheran Church, with its more than 160,000 communicant members, whose central institution at Rock Island Bishop Wordsworth visited. There is however no allusion, save in the index, to the distinguished Rt. Rev. K. G. H. von Scheele, the bishop of Visby, whose three visits to this country as the official representative of the king and church of Sweden have exerted the greatest influence in maintaining and strengthening the bond between the mother church and her American daughter, and whose last visit, in company with the learned Rector Magnificus of Upsala, Professor Schück, whose name appears frequently in this book, preceded that of the Bishop of Salisbury only by about three months; and on referring to the page indicated, the only Scheele mentioned there (p. 327) is the chemist of the eighteenth century of the same name.

Notwithstanding the dedication of the book, by permission, to the Crown Princess of Sweden, and the reading of the proofs by several prominent Swedish ecclesiastics, it leaves the impression of being made from the outside, instead of being a growth from within. No one can charge the author with conscious unfairness. His amiability and earnestness are attractive. But with all this the value of these lectures is only as an incentive and suggestion of an interesting and fruitful field that in the English language awaits an historian who can cultivate it with more scientific methods.

HENRY EYSTER JACOBS.

The King's Customs: an Account of Maritime Revenue and Contraband Traffic in England, Scotland, and Ireland, from the Earliest Times to the Year 1800. In two volumes. By HENRY ATTON and HENRY HURST HOLLAND, with a Preface by F. S. PARRY, C.B., Deputy-Chairman of the Board of Customs. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1908, 1910. Pp. xv, 489; xii, 506.)

THESE two thick volumes, "a popular history of the Customs", as they are called in the preface, are a curious combination of technical information and enlivening gossip. The authors are members of the staff of the English Customs Office, so that all that pertains to the internal history of that department of the government has an interest to them that is easily communicable to their readers. "The Customs", however, has a wider meaning, and its history includes an account of all the devices adopted by the crown for securing money from merchants exporting or importing goods, and the means of carrying out those devices and preventing their nullification by schemers of various kinds. Although the work purports to extend from the earliest times to the present, it is devoted principally to the period since the Restoration of 1660. All the previous centuries are described in 100 pages of the first

volume. Although nothing of especial value or originality is to be found in this part of the work it is by no means without interest. The authors' plan is to begin the narrative of each reign with a short account of the characteristic legislation concerning the revenue, then to take up the methods of carrying out this legislation, and finally to give instances of the difficulties and contests met with in doing so. This plan sometimes throws quite unimportant things into prominence and unduly subordinates matters of great interest. Such striking changes as the transfer of the control of English commerce from foreigners to natives in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the change from the export of wool and import of cloth to the import of wool and export of cloth, the intrusion of English merchants for the first time into the Mediterranean, the establishment of Parliamentary grants of tunnage and poundage to the monarchs for the whole of their reign, and such larger historic facts, appear almost unannounced and almost undistinguished from quite petty and temporary matters.

The same is true of the characteristic organization of medieval trade. The Hanse, the Staple, the Merchants Adventurers, receive only very casual mention and it is obvious that the authors know nothing of their internal character or especial significance. This omission is closely connected with the paucity of the sources of information from which the book is drawn. With the usual English unfamiliarity with foreign literature it is perhaps not to be wondered at that even students of English medieval financial history have not used such books as Schanz, Keutgen, Ochenkowski, Lingelbach, and Jenckes, but one would think they might have shown some knowledge of the matter contained in Mrs. Green's *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*. Yet if the authors do not use good secondary works neither do they use bad ones; their materials are almost all drawn from the statutes, Treasury papers, and certain collections of cases made by Treasury antiquarians.

Such a work is sure to treat largely of smuggling, that great field of stirring, if not very elevated, romance; and as a matter of fact far the greater part of the first volume and much of the second is devoted to a narrative of actual incidents of this nature. The entrance of Scotland and Ireland into the national customs system, the gradual introduction of freedom of trade and the repeal of the Navigation Laws, with the general relaxation of the revenue to which these gave rise, are recounted with an abundance, probably an overabundance, of illustrative incident. Correspondence between the customs department and other departments of the government and picturesque incidents and striking occurrences in the ordinary process of collecting the revenue as a matter of fact account for much of the bulk of this book. Connecting these, however, is a constant thread of explanation and description which makes it, popular and unskilfully arranged as it is, no mean contribution to a not very familiar side of English history.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

Annals of a Yorkshire House, from the Papers of a Macaroni and his Kindred. In two volumes. By A. M. W. STIRLING. (London and New York: John Lane Company. 1911. Pp. xviii, 361; viii, 365.)

THE present work is based upon papers left by Ann Spencer Stanhope, including notably the letters and journal of her son, Walter Spencer Stanhope, and other papers of the Spencer and Stanhope families. With this material in hand, John Stanhope prepared, a half century ago, the rough draft of a memoir which was never completed. Mrs. Stirling has taken the Memoir and what is left of the papers and prepared the two volumes now published. The book opens with a chapter on the legend connected with Cannon Hall, which takes us back to the Middle Ages. The four following chapters trace the early history of the families of Spencer and Stanhope to the middle of the eighteenth century; particularly interesting are the chapters dealing with "the old Lawyer", John of Horsforth, and John of Cannon Hall, known always as "Squire Spencer". The rest of the work has as its main theme the man who inherited both properties and effectually united the two families, Walter Spencer Stanhope, "the Macaroni, the youth about town, the member of Parliament during forty years, the friend of so many of the celebrated men of the eighteenth century". Mrs. Stirling is very discursive, however, and Stanhope is rather the excuse for the narrative than its substance. We are hardly presented, indeed, with as vivid a portrait of the shrewd, cool, fastidious, somewhat calculating, yet eminently courageous and independent squire-statesman as we might reasonably expect from the author's able pen. And then we are told rather than convinced that Stanhope's political influence was of a first-rate order: it is difficult to think that the fate of the empire, or even of the Coalition, depended upon his stand on the Yorkshire Address (II. 183).

The book is most valuable, not in presenting us with a life of Stanhope, but in the many excellent pictures it gives us of eighteenth-century political and social life in country and town. In the chapter on the Tyrant of the North, for example, we see the inside of that social and political system which enabled the eccentric Sir James Lowther to dominate Westmoreland County for so many years, the machinery by which he set up and tumbled over his "Nine Pins" being very clearly revealed. Likewise, in chapter xv., there is an excellent account of the campaign in Yorkshire against the Coalition which resulted in the return of Wilberforce for York. There is much in the book for the historian of manners and customs: open hospitality; the spinnet, fancy-work, hunting, and hard drinking in the country, and in the town the social whirl, exclusive clubs, gambling and hard drinking—we do not grow tired of these familiar pictures. The narrative is spiced with well-told anecdotes, old and new, about famous people: Pitt, Fox, Burke, Johnson, and the solemn Michael Angelo ("Law-Chick") Taylor. The incident of

Stanhope braving a mob and depriving it of its legal right of bull-baiting, and the picture of old John of Horsforth laying his cane over the back of every idler he met are especially instructive in correcting the traditional idea of England as the country where every man's liberty was guaranteed by a "rule of law". Though hardly so valuable a work as the author's *Coke of Norfolk*, the book is a welcome addition to the literature of English history; doubtless it might have been shortened to one volume without much loss, but after all a leisurely pace and a dilettante air reflect the spirit of the eighteenth century better than a more business-like tone would have done. The book is excellently made and contains many portraits and illustrations. Grange should certainly read Orange at page 126 of volume II.

CARL BECKER.

The Awakening of Scotland: a History from 1747 to 1797. By WILLIAM LAW MATHIESON. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1910. Pp. xiv, 303.)

THE present volume is one of a series of three works by the same author, and those whose expectations have been raised by the reading of the previous two will not, in our opinion, find themselves disappointed when they come to read the third. In taking up the period from 1747 to 1797, the author has fixed upon a section of Scottish history from which the fire and movement of covenanting times are passed away—which has lost the element of romance implied in a "Fifteen" or a "Forty-five". Yet, while the element of romantic adventure has disappeared, it is no uninteresting story that Mr. Mathieson has to tell of what we might call the Scottish Renaissance, when the rise of a literature not unworthy to take rank with the best went hand-in-hand with growing political wisdom, growing freedom and depth of thought, growing material prosperity, and growing enterprise, to start Scotland along the path on which during the last century and a half she has travelled so far. And just as the author in each of his previous works has risen to the greatness of his subject, so in this also he has not fallen short. The chapters on the political development of Scotland are characterized by an intimate and detailed knowledge of the subject, and though in some places one might pass the criticism that it is difficult to see the wood for the trees, yet the mass of facts is traversed by bold and illuminating generalizations, which bring the details into line, and enlivened by flashes of humor which prevent the work from ever turning wearisome.

It would be difficult to praise too highly the chapters on the ecclesiastical history of the period—the sketch of the struggle between the Moderate and Popular parties is exceedingly well done. The author never rises to heights of eloquence, indeed—perhaps a subject of the kind does not readily lend itself to such eloquence—but in this part of the volume his style is so thoroughly clear, his mastery of the facts is so complete, his narrative runs so easily, and his satire is so delightful

and pungent, that we have little hesitation in pronouncing it the best part of the book. The survey of the awakening intellectual life of Scotland is excellent, and even the prosaic record of industrial development is turned to literary account.

To say much by way of adverse criticism in a review of this length would be both thankless and unfair. Occasionally perhaps, but certainly seldom, the writer's mass of facts gets the better of him, and if he had written a longer book, he would be less the victim of his own industry. For example, on page 229 he speaks as if Whitefield's influence were alone responsible for the Cambuslang "wark", whereas McCulloch, Bowman, More, and others had the revival in full swing before Whitefield appeared on the scene at all. This, doubtless, is the result of the need of undue condensation—and on the whole the book is a continuous triumph of clear thinking and clear style over a mass of material which might have been an impossible burden for one less skilful than Mr. Mathieson.

Speaking of the author's first book, the *Scotsman* said, "Mr. Mathieson makes his first appearance as a Scottish historian, and in this singularly able work he steps at once into the front rank". One might say of the present volume that it fully entitles him to retain the place he has won for himself among the writers of Scottish history. Those who know the able work done by the late Mr. Henry Grey Graham upon the same period of the country's history will find little difficulty in ranking Mr. Mathieson alongside of him.

JOHN DALL.

A History of the British Army. By the Hon. J. W. FORTESCUE. Vol. V., 1803–1807; Vol. VI., 1807–1809. (London and New York: Macmillan and Company. 1910. Pp. xxi, 437; xix, 448.)

THE high quality of Mr. Fortescue's *History of the British Army* is well maintained in the two volumes lately published, although they deal with a dreary period during which a few great deeds and noteworthy achievements were more than set off by serious failures and extraordinary incapacity in the cabinet and in the field. He is a laborious and tireless student and besides a multitude of printed authorities has searched the files of unpublished correspondence in the Public Record Office to good purpose.

In the Mahratta war of 1803–1805, the British forces were indeed fortunate in possessing two commanders endowed with such ability, energy, and unwavering determination to succeed as Arthur Wellesley and Gerard Lake. Their methods of achieving success were, however, essentially different. Lake risked much and trusted to his driving power and the dogged courage and endurance of his troops to pull him through. At Laswarree, Delhi, Furruckabad, and Deig, he was signally favored by fortune and all went well, but the mishaps of Monson's column and the repeated bloody repulses of his assaults on Bhurtpore were directly due

to impatience and want of forethought. On the other hand, although Assaye was certainly won by the narrowest margin, beneath it lay "a solid structure of communications thoroughly guarded, magazines and advanced bases carefully stored, transport laboriously organized; everything provided that prudence and sagacity could foresee, nothing left to chance which could be assured by industry and care". As Mr. Fortescue aptly remarks, "Lake's system might suffice for one man; Wellesley's gave a chance of success to any man". Still Lake was undeniably a fine, indomitable soldier, the inspiration of whose leadership impelled his men to march and fight beyond the limits of ordinary endurance.

Mr. Fortescue constantly strives to seek the causes that led to victory or defeat, and it might seem that he has occasionally given too much space to a minor campaign such as the half-forgotten war with the King of Kandy in 1803, were it not, as he states, that "it may serve as a warning of the mischief that may be done by a foolish Governor seconded by a foolish General".

In the dismal history of those years, folly in the conduct of military operations predominates. The Ministry of All the Talents seldom let slip an opportunity of displacing a competent by an incapable commander and hampering all with absurd instructions. One officer was put in command of a force of less than five thousand men with which he was directed to conquer the province of Chile and establish a chain of posts across the Andes to Buencs Ayres, a distance of nine hundred miles as the crow flies, which is justly characterized as "one of the most astonishing plans that ever emanated from the brain even of a British Minister of War". Sir John Moore, a very capable commander, on the other hand, was virtually told, "Take ten thousand troops to Sweden and do something. We do not know what you can do, nor have we any reason for giving you ten thousand instead of thirty thousand men, except that we are not disposed to risk the loss of more". The troops were not permitted to land and were retained on board the transports for three months when they were ordered back to England. It is scarcely surprising that some of Moore's friends declared that the expedition was a trick devised by the ministers to get rid of their ablest general, though it can no longer be doubted that it was undertaken in good faith but with amazing lack of judgment.

The waywardness and ineptitude of Sir John Stuart and Sir Sidney Smith, both men of courage and some ability but inordinate vanity, to whom the command of the combined military and naval operations in the Mediterranean in 1806 was unluckily entrusted, are vividly described. The mismanagement of this expedition was barely surpassed by that of another to South America conducted by Sir Home Popham and General Whitelocke during the following year. The battle of Maida was, however, highly creditable to the troops engaged. Five thousand two hundred British soldiers encountered six thousand four

hundred French in the open field without any distinct advantage in position or circumstances and inflicted upon them a crushing defeat in which their loss was remarkably severe and that of the British almost incredibly light. The British infantry formed in a shallow but broad line met the onset of a narrow but deep French column that was dashed against it, with an irresistible storm of bullets in front and flanks. The assailants were soon thrown into irretrievable disorder and more men fell in the retreat than in the advance. It was a signal triumph of fire-action over shock-action, won by cool and steady marksmanship. Whatever profit might have been derived from following it up was thrown away by Stuart and Smith, except the useful experience in fighting the French acquired by the troops and such subordinate leaders as Cole, Kempt, Oswald, and Ross, all of whom subsequently earned distinction in the campaigns of the Peninsula.

Mr. Fortescue has visited the scenes of the Vimeiro campaign and his description of the battles has gained color and accuracy from his personal knowledge of the ground on which they were fought. Such an inspection of the battlefield would seem as indispensable to the military historian as the study of contemporary records. At Rolica the French were greatly, and at Vimeiro considerably, outnumbered and in the latter action Junot used his troops badly by wasting their efforts in a series of disconnected attacks which were met and repelled by superior numbers. The fruits of victory were lost by the failure to follow it up due to the caution and indecision of Burrard and Dalrymple.

Napier's and Oman's accounts of Moore's campaign have been carefully compared with the Spanish histories of Arceche and Toreno and Commandant Balagny's *Campagne de l'Empereur Napoléon en Espagne*, recently published under the auspices of the Historical Section of the French General Staff, which contains much material that was inaccessible to former writers. Moore's conduct of the retreat is vigorously defended, although no attempt is made to conceal or minimize the heavy losses sustained in men and stores. The oft-debated question whether any military or political advantage was gained by Moore's raid on Napoleon's communications is temperately reviewed. At the time, the entire campaign seemed a dreary tale of disaster relieved only by two or three brilliant cavalry actions and the sharp repulse of an ill-directed reconnoissance in force undertaken by Marshal Soult just before the embarkation at Coruña. Mr. Fortescue is convinced that "Moore's operations produced very considerable results; and it is no exaggeration to say that they changed the whole course of history". Possibly with more reason he regards Moore as the very best trainer of troops ever possessed by Britain, and points out that his system rested on the single principle that each and every officer should be required to know and perform his duty and to teach his men their duty also. "No man", he concludes, "not Cromwell, nor Marlborough, nor Wellington, has set so strong a mark for good upon the British Army as John Moore".

An adequate index to this installment of the work is provided at the

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end of the sixth volume and there are twenty-six maps and plans. Those relating to the actions at Maida, Vimeiro, and Coruña deserve special mention.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK.

Geschichte der Russischen Revolution. VON LUDWIG KULCZYCKI.

Einzig autorisierte Übersetzung aus dem Polnischen von ANNA SCHAPIROE-NEURATH. Band I. *Von den Dekabristen bis zu dem Versuch, die Agitation ins Volk zu tragen (1825 bis 1870).* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes. 1910. Pp. xx, 520.)

ALTHOUGH in the last few years much has been written about the Russian revolution, we are still doubtless only at the beginning of the literature on this subject. The immediate political turmoil, however, has in great measure subsided, and even if the lull be but momentary the historian is in less danger than he was a little while ago of having his clearness of vision obscured by the dust of battle. The time has come therefore when we may hope for careful scholarly works, not only in Russian but in western languages, that shall give us thoughtful and, as far as possible, unprejudiced accounts of the whole movement. Fortunately we have good promise of such a work from the pen of Professor Kulczycki, of Lemberg, whose first volume has just appeared in a German translation from the Polish. He has studied his topic for some twenty years and he has known personally several of the Russian revolutionists. His sympathies are indeed obvious, but so far, at least, he has written with singular dispassionateness, seldom if ever allowing himself to be carried away by his liberal sentiments or by his national patriotism as a Pole.

After an introduction of about one hundred pages, the author devotes the rest of his first volume to the period of Russian history between 1825 and 1870. In two succeeding volumes he will bring down the narrative to September 30, 1905. His tale of recent events may be expected to prove more interesting to most readers than the part we have before us. It will not necessarily be more valuable, for what he already offers is no mere preface but a systematic account of the earlier stages of a great movement. Even if they long seemed barren of permanent result, a knowledge of them is indispensable to any one who wishes to comprehend fully the later history.

Up to the time of the conspiracy which culminated in the rising of the Decabrists in 1825, we may say that in Russia liberal criticism and discontent showed itself in mere isolated mutterings. Since then a revolutionary party has existed, albeit nearly stamped out of existence at the start and for long years small and impotent. Professor Kulczycki's account of the December rising confirms the usually received opinion that the conspirators, most of them men of high character, were hopelessly visionary, not to say incompetent. Accident offered them an extraordinary chance of temporary success in their wild enterprise but

this they threw away, chiefly owing to the cowardice of Prince Trubetzkoi whom they had made their leader at the critical moment. Their failure was followed by almost a generation of reactionary government, a period distinguished it is true by brilliant literary activity but characterized by political stagnation. Revolutionary ideas only began to crop up again under the influence of the teachings of the French socialists, of the troubles of 1848 in western Europe, of the disasters of the Crimean War, the reforms of Alexander II., and the disappointment that followed their first application.

Professor Kulczycki is not writing for beginners; he assumes on the part of his readers familiarity with the history of Russia and with general conditions and he refers to rather than describes political events. What he does offer us is the story of the chief revolutionists for nearly half a century. He explains their respective theories, not perhaps at undue length but in such numbers as to leave us in the end rather confused as to the special peculiarities of each, the more so as several of these revolutionists differed not only from one another but also in the details of their own opinions at different moments in their careers. He seems to have most admiration for Herzen and for Chernyshevski, and does not condemn the anarchistic doctrines of Bakunin, but treats them objectively; indeed, throughout, his tone is so admirably sober that we may forgive him a slight dryness and occasional unnecessary disquisitions. We may well be grateful for so careful and judicial a presentation of the characters, teachings, and activities of the men who were as truly the fathers of the Revolution in Russia as the *philosophes* of the eighteenth century were of the Revolution in France.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

The Income Tax: a Study of the History, Theory, and Practice of Income Taxation at Home and Abroad. By EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN, McVickar Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911. Pp. xi, 711.)

PROFESSOR SELIGMAN's purpose, as he tells us in his preface, is to give "an exhaustive statement, not only of the legislation and of the parliamentary history, but also of the scientific as well as of the more ephemeral literature of the topic, in the most important countries from which we have a lesson to learn". This purpose has been carried out with the thoroughness which his earlier works would lead us to expect. The space is about equally divided between the United States and foreign countries. Among foreign countries most attention is naturally devoted to England, the discussion constituting the most complete history of the English income tax which we have. The history of the Prussian tax, and of the agitation of the income tax in France, which seems to be on the point of culminating in actual legislation, are also

discussed in detail, while the history of the Austrian, Italian, and Swiss income taxes is given in more summary form.

The chapters on the income tax in the American colonies, state income taxes, the income tax of 1894, and the proposed sixteenth amendment, and a portion of the chapter on the constitutionality of the income tax have previously appeared in essay form, but the last named chapter has been greatly expanded, and additional chapters have been added on the Civil War income tax, and the income tax in the Southern Confederacy. A chapter on the Fundamental Problems and a chapter on "A Practicable Programme" precede and follow respectively the historical discussion which constitutes the main portion of the volume.

It is evident that Professor Seligman has written with a practical as well as an historical purpose. He believes that the time is now ripe for the adoption of the tax as a permanent part of the fiscal system of the United States and that it promises to be, as it was in England and Prussia, the most effective instrument in bringing about the needed reforms in the existing tax system, in particular the abandonment of the tax on personal property. Considerations of both economic and administrative conditions, however, preclude the levying of the tax by the states. He suggests, therefore, that the tax be levied by the federal government, and that a portion at least of the proceeds be distributed among the states, the federal government having, of course, the power, which may some time prove to be essential to the preservation of its existence, of using the tax to meet its own needs. The method of federal collection he believes might also be employed with advantage in connection with the corporation and inheritance taxes. Possibly "A Vision of Future Possibilities" would have been a better title than "A Practicable Programme" for the chapter in which these views are advanced.

The portions of the book which will attract the most attention at the moment are those which deal with the income tax decisions of 1895 and the proposed income tax amendment. In connection with the former, the author shows beyond question that the court was led astray on certain questions of historical fact. In connection with the latter, he combats Governor Hughes's position in his message to the New York legislature, urging that even if, as is improbable, the court should decide that the amendment gives the federal government the right to tax the securities of state and municipal governments, such a right is in accord with sound economic principles and need cause no fear of an encroachment by the federal government on the power of the states.

There are some errors of proof-reading and inaccurate statements. Of some importance are the statement on page 244 that under the Prussian law of 1873 "the two lower classes [*i. e.*, incomes up to 4200 marks] were abolished"; the statement (page 593) that the present federal corporation tax is levied on dividends instead of net income; and the substitution of "when" for "nor" in the quotation at the bottom of page 623. The discussion of the genesis of the corporation tax on

page 593 hardly gives a correct impression of the sequence of events. There is an excellent index, while a full bibliography and a wealth of bibliographical notes greatly increase the value of the work for students.

HENRY B. GARDNER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives. By CARL RUSSELL FISH, Professor of American History, University of Wisconsin. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1911. Pp. ix, 289.)

THIS work is published by the Carnegie Department of Historical Research as a preliminary chart of a region still largely unexplored. Under limitations of time, but with a wide field to cover, we consider that Professor Fish has produced a work very satisfactory and decidedly useful. The lines of American history in Roman and other Italian archives are here well traced. The general introduction upon the papal administration (pp. 1-14) merits the attention of cultured persons in general, besides professional historians; and his particular introductions to different depositories are sufficiently minute to be individual as well as instructive. We might mention as an instance of useful information to be gathered there the section on Nunciatures (pp. 53-57).

With perfectly correct judgment, the entries of documents in the numerous series are made without adding any appreciation proper to the historian. So we shall state in brief what results the historian may expect from the use of the matter here sketched. In the first place, it is clear that for any writer on Catholic affairs in America, whether North, Central, or South, this matter is indispensable. If one does not study in the archives for himself, he must send over for copies, as Dr. J. G. Shea did; though it requires very little experience to see that it is one thing to have a document apart and separate, but quite another thing to see it in its environment. A solitary document may be as misleading as it is lonely, since it can lose as much by detachment as an historian does by attachment. Irrespective of all that critical apparatus implies, there is a native environment about a document in its own habitat, among other papers which, even if not connected with it, respire in the archives the atmosphere of the time, and envelop the student in it. Though lists which tabulate documents cannot satisfy this requirement, still we imagine they will conduce in some way to this effect upon the mind.

In the next place we note that, in the movement of political affairs, an important element to determine is the motive or ethical power at work. When a nation like Spain is in action, the element of Catholic principle cannot be separated from the policy actuating the government, whether the latter be faithful to the principles of its religion or not.

How far Spain and France swerved from the line of ecclesiastical direction is slightly touched upon by the editor (pp. 59, 60, 72). But, as to the enunciation of such principles in many of the papers which are here catalogued, the historical student will find it, at least as clear, and certainly not less broad, than the statements of a more secular kind which may be seen in the merely political administration of a great and well-governed empire. It is obvious that, when these principles as they recur have been discerned by the historian, his mind will be able to move in one true current of events.

In the third place, the *Guide* before us furnishes very many elements of fact, as might be expected from the documents of Rome, whither all roads ran. But, quite incidentally, the book shows why great reserve is practised in the communication of documents; and we might even suspect that the same reason could lead to the deliberate destruction of them (p. 120, *ad* note 6). It is that disparaging reflections or charges, with nothing adequate to support them, may be found recorded to the prejudice of individuals or classes—furnishing another illustration of what we have just said about the lonely and misleading document. Again, in an incidental way, the book illustrates another point, how valuable folios disappear from the collections—showing the wear and tear, not to use a stronger word, that is going on in archives open to the public (*e. g.*, p. 47, no. 102, ff. 36-46).

Not a few Italian passages being reproduced in the *Guide*, we should have wished that, if they stand in the documents as they are here, the learned editor had either indicated in the usual way that so indeed they stand, or had subjoined the corrections for the faulty text. As instances, we mention p. 72, note 66; p. 118, l. 6; p. 122, l. 7; p. 183, no. 135; p. 234; p. 241. Among names, Beamans should be Peemans; Nundwiler should be Mundwiler.¹

THOMAS HUGHES, S.J.

Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York. Administration of Francis Lovelace, 1668-1673. Volumes I. and II. Edited by VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, State Historian. (Albany: published by the State of New York. 1910. Pp. 1-386; xii, 387-806.)

IN these volumes Mr. Paltsits has edited the council minutes of New York during the governorship of Francis Lovelace. To the text of the minutes he has contributed elaborate and helpful annotations, and in order to render intelligible the frequently meagre entries he has added a large number of collateral and illustrative documents filling two-thirds

¹ P. 157, note 56, on Propaganda document: "260. America; ff. 33-37, 'Descriptio Missionis Accadiae in Nova Gallia'." The photographic reproduction here referred to may be seen, according to our own private notes, in the Georgetown College Transcripts, under the date, 1656. We do not suppose that the document was ever published.

of the total space. In the case of the Dutch documents he has placed a translation in a parallel column. He has included in the work two portraits, of James, duke of York, and of Cornelis Steenwijk, mayor of New York city, 1668-1670, many facsimiles of documents, which bear graphic witness to the difficulties of his task, and two pocket maps, one, from the British Museum, of the island of Manhattan with an inset of the city, and the other, from the Harvard Library, a general map of the region north of Virginia with an inset view of New York. The originals of both maps are well known, but have never before been reproduced in full size.

These volumes were planned to inaugurate a series containing the executive council minutes of New York during the colonial period. For the administration of Nicolls no minutes are known to exist, but with a few significant exceptions the list was continuous from 1668 to the Revolution. Such a series executed with Mr. Paltsits's instinct for completeness, accuracy, and high regard for technical form would have formed a substantial and noteworthy contribution to colonial history, but the undertaking will not be carried out under the present auspices. The fire in the New York State Library destroyed ninety per cent. of the documents upon which Mr. Paltsits largely depended, and though the minutes themselves, for the years after 1686, are duplicated in London and so can readily be obtained, the material which renders the present volumes of such unusual importance is gone beyond recall.

The minutes here printed are an index to the executive activities of the period and show the extent to which Lovelace and his council administered the affairs of the province. Except for strictly local concerns control lay in the hands of this body sitting in the fort of St. James. It watched over the affairs of a scattered group of towns and territories, occupied by English, Dutch, and Swedes, and menaced by the presence of discontents within and Indians both within and without. The board exercised a great variety of judicial, administrative and military functions, combining in one the duties of a privy council and a justice of the peace in England.

Of particular interest are the relations of the board with the towns and outlying territories. Lovelace appointed subordinate commissions for the management of Esopus and the adjoining Dutch communities; of the large number of documents here printed throwing light on the organization of those communities Elting knew nothing. Of no less interest are the papers relating to Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and other islands, covering more than thirty pages, particularly those defining the government of Nantucket in 1673. The board erected a court at Newcastle on the Delaware, issued the necessary instructions, and mapped out the proper forms to be used in cases of trial.

The Dutch were naturally a source of serious concern to the government. Lovelace could honestly say, "Wee cannot expect they love us", and he issued stringent instructions to look out for breaches of the peace and cases of "scandalous defamation", and to watch for the

"rising up of those seedes of distrust and jealousie amongst us". In view of the scattered character of the province—extending from Schenectady to Newcastle and from "Breucklyn" to Nantucket, we cannot charge him with arbitrary conduct, when we find him instructing his commissioners "not to follow yo^r owne humo^r but my ord^{rs}", or when as in his dealings with the Long Island towns of New England origin he greeted impatiently their unwillingness to aid in the defence of the province.

There are a few points of minor interest. We find references to the manor of Fordham and to the manor of Fox Hall, the latter created an "enfranchised" manor free from the jurisdiction of any town court and subject only to the court of assizes (p. 760). We meet with quit-rents (pp. 97, 99, 115, 122), the farming of the excise (pp. 82, 83, 187, 548, 626), possession by turf and twig (p. 49), censuses of New York (pp. 58, 89), and convoy arrangements as early as 1672 (pp. 695, 697). Mr. Paltsits might have told us the meaning of "Pluck Money" (p. 65) and the derivation of "Weesmaster" or "Curemaster" (pp. 99, 168, 186, 790), though the duties are clear enough. I notice only one error: Capt. John Seaman of Hempstead came originally not from "the eastern end of Long Island" (p. 73, note 1), but from Wethersfield, accompanying the Rev. Richard Denton, first to Stamford and then to Hempstead.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

The Wilderness Trail, or the Ventures and Adventures of the Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path, with Some New Annals of the Old West, and the Records of Some Strong Men and Some Bad Ones. By CHARLES A. HANNA. In two volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1911. Pp. xxiv, 383; vi, 457.)

WHAT Parkman has done for the French traders along the Great Lakes routes, Mr. Hanna attempts for the Pennsylvania and Ohio traders in tracing their routes, describing their conditions, and portraying their vicissitudes. The title is slightly misleading since it apparently refers to one path or trail, whereas the two volumes give consideration to all trading paths and Indian trails of Pennsylvania, Maryland, northern Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky. A more exact title would have been "The Pennsylvania Traders", since most of the men engaged in that occupation in those colonies made their headquarters in Pennsylvania. The volumes belong to the growing literature based upon the expansion of the people and a due consideration of the effects of geography upon local history. Being confined to a small space and one class of people, the study becomes intensive, exhaustive, and trustworthy through contemporaneous testimony.

One of the many excellent maps shows the location of the principal trading paths. A glance at the network overspreading Pennsyl-

vania and Ohio gives an impression of the task to which the author has applied himself. Painstakingly he has brought together every mention in print or manuscript of these paths; the Frankstown path, the Juniata, the Raystown, and the Main Path to the Alleghenies are located to the eastward, and the Conchake, the Pickawillany, and the Great Warrior's trails to the westward of the mountains. The location of these paths is in dispute in many places, but the author weighs all evidence and rarely fails to express a decided and deciding opinion. His authorities are chiefly the embryonic gazetteers or descriptions of trading routes prepared by Indian factors for their agents.

By confining his investigations and quotations to one region, the author has produced a limited story of a lost occupation and a passed environment, but it is typical of conditions existing in other parts of the colonies at the same time. For materials, he has depended upon colonial court records, upon reports of governors, and upon diaries and "journals". Many of these are familiar to students, particularly the writings of Hutchins, Pownall, Croghan, Trent, and Richard Smith. A few extracts are from manuscripts, mostly in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A large number of maps are reproduced from the writings quoted. Foot-note references are abundant. There are numerous illustrations, mostly from photographs of present appearances of sites of forts and Indian villages. There are also photographs of Indian "picture writing" on rocks, but without any attempt at explanation or deciphering.

The volumes are a blend of the typical local historian and the modern investigator. There is a vast assemblage of material, not very skilfully put together, and without original matter of deduction or comment. No doubt the determination was wise when the author decided to bring together his material and let the extracts tell the story. The volumes will be of service to the intensive student of American history in the wealth of suggestive material they contain; they will also be found readable by the general public as giving the story of the pioneers of modern trading industries.

The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787. Edited by MAX FARRAND, Professor of History in Yale University. In three volumes. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1911. Pp. xxvi, 606; 667; 685.)

THE purpose of the editor of these volumes has been to bring together all the records of the Convention. In this case "records" is necessarily a very inclusive term, for from the official minutes of the Convention we obtain little actual information of importance. If we would know what was done during those four months of discussion, we must depend on notes taken by members of the Convention or on statements made by them either at the time or in later days. The editor has sought, therefore, every scrap of information that might properly be considered source-

material. Letters written or speeches made long years after the Convention had adjourned may not be taken over-seriously by the critical student of history; but when such statements come from participants in the Convention's work, they must be classed as sources and be given such weight as the individual investigator feels justified in ascribing to them. The editor has included contemporaneous letters that throw even the least possible light on the meeting and the activity of the delegates. He has included, for example, a letter from Franklin to Thomas Jordan, dated May 18, 1787, acknowledging the receipt of a cask of porter, which was "broached" at a dinner given by Franklin to the delegates then in Philadelphia and which was unanimously declared to be the best the distinguished fathers of our constitutional being had ever tasted. The editor has not tried to discuss the meaning of the documents but to collect them, collate them, and subject them to all the tests of external criticism.

The first two volumes contain the notes or memoranda taken by the delegates in Convention and the official journal. These notes are arranged in strict chronological order, those of each day being placed together; first in each day's procedure comes the journal, then come Madison's notes, then those of the other delegates that left notes or memoranda for that day. Thus on May 31 appear first the journal, then in order the notes of Madison, Yates, King, Pierce, and McHenry. In some instances clearness would have been gained by presenting these various reports in parallel columns; but it is quite evident that such efforts to give a conspectus of the discussion presented insurmountable difficulties from the viewpoint of practical book-making. At the end of the journal of each day is printed the detail of ayes and noes as they appear on the loose sheets left by the secretary of the Convention. The student of the Convention thus has before him under each day the various accounts of the proceedings for that day and can, with little trouble, make such comparisons as he may wish to make.

The third volume contains a mass of material which the editor has classed as "supplementary records". This material is not easily described; but the principle on which it was selected appears on the whole to be sound. Principle would naturally exclude mere comments by later writers or interpretations by those who had not taken part in the Convention's work; likewise we should expect to find, and we do find, statements by participants; letters written by delegates while in attendance even though they contain little or no information concerning the work actually done; statements made in ratifying conventions, for example remarks made by Wilson, Hamilton, Yates, and Madison; assertions that were made by members in the essays and pamphlets written when the Constitution was before the people for ratification, provided such statements tended to show what occurred in the Convention. This supplementary material includes Luther Martin's *Genuine Information* and even some extracts from the *Federalist*, as well as letters written at a later time by members of the Convention—in short a

mass of source-material much of which is more interesting than valuable as evidence of what was said and done.

Possibly in the arrangement of the materials contained in volume III., some better plan might have been devised than that of rigid adherence to chronological order. Of course there is decided difference in value between statements made before 1789, let us say, and those made in 1830. Comments made by the framers while the Constitution was under discussion and before final ratification by the people might, one would think, have been brought together instead of being scattered in obedience to the dictates of chronological order. This criticism, if it has any value, is on the whole trivial, however, and the reviewer acknowledges the difficulty of discovering a better system of arrangement than the one followed.

There is good reason for thinking that the text is accurately copied from the originals, and certainly every reasonable effort to secure accuracy seems to have been made. The preparation of the Madison notes evidently presented most perplexing difficulties. In the third volume of the *Documentary History*, they are so printed as to show all erasures and interlineations; every alteration in the text is indicated. The reproduction of all these alterations here was evidently unnecessary; we are glad to have in the *Documentary History* a reprint which attempts to show the exact form of the Madison manuscript as far as that can be shown by mere typographical devices; but adherence to the exact form of the original would for such volumes as these be little less than pedantry. For example, there can be no use in knowing that Madison wrote, in Mason's speech of June 20, "are", and then struck out the word and wrote it in again, or that in another sentence he struck out "that" and inserted "the". Just how many of these alterations should appear in this reprint is evidently a question of judgment, supported by an appreciation of what is or may be significant; and for just such decisions, a thorough knowledge of the Convention's work is necessary. The editor appears to have indicated alterations made by the writer in the text when such alterations are important or might be considered so. In the opinion of the reviewer he has acted wisely and apparently has not erred on the side of omission.

The careful reproduction of Madison's text is the more important because, as Mr. Farrand shows, it cannot in all respects be considered an independent source. Madison went over his manuscript carefully after the publication of the journal in 1819 and corrected, or more properly changed, his own text in a good many instances to make it agree with the printed journal and with Yates's minutes, and at times added to his notes information obtained from the same sources. The editor points out a number, perhaps all of these changes and additions—in itself a laborious task—and it is interesting to notice that in some instances Madison's original notes were correct and that he erred when he changed them.

The various plans presented to the Convention receive attention though by no means exhaustive and critical discussion. The editor believes that the Madison copy of the Virginia plan is the correct one and not corrupted by the insertion of provisions adopted in Convention after the plan was presented. There is room for difference of opinion on this matter. The fact that the clause adopted on June 4 is in an essential particular different from the words on the same subject appearing in Madison's draft of the plan is strong evidence that Madison did not introduce these words from the resolution of June 4; but on the other hand it should be noticed that the Convention, if the journal is correct, adopted the first clause of the ninth resolution and then moved to "add" the words in question. Now we might translate "add" as "accept"; but that translation would not do away with the difficulty arising from the fact that the Convention had already adopted the first "clause", which, under any reasonable or at least usual definition of the word "clause", would have included, if they were in the original plan, the substance of these very provisions proposed to be "added". Neither argument is entirely satisfactory, and the editor is certainly entitled to his judgment concerning the correctness of the Madison copy.

The Paterson plan, as it appears in Madison's notes, is also accepted as the one which was actually presented to the Convention. In the reviewer's judgment this conclusion is correct. King's copy is in itself very strong evidence in that direction. The Pinckney plan receives considerable attention. The plan which was sent by Pinckney to Adams and which appeared in the official journal (1819) is not of course given here as if it were a part of the original journal or of Madison's notes. It is printed as an appendix in the third volume, and with it is printed a reconstructed plan, an effort to show from various sources of information what in all likelihood the original propositions were. The outline of the plan which is in Wilson's handwriting and probably made for the use of the committee of detail is printed with other papers throwing light on the work of that committee.

One unacquainted with the character of the sources of the Convention can have little appreciation of the amount of painstaking work and the amount of sound judgment required for the collecting and editing of this material. Even the collection was no slight task, though the REVIEW by publishing many documents, some of them discovered by the editors, has lightened the work. Annotation and comparison of materials is done laboriously. The introductory essay, which is nearly the same as the article by Mr. Farrand in volume XIII. of the REVIEW, is invaluable, but might perhaps for this purpose have been more elaborate and detailed. Unless some inconsiderate person unearths some new scrap of authentic material, these volumes will remain the complete and be the definitive edition of the Convention's records.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN.

The Alexander Letters, 1787-1900. (Savannah: privately printed for George J. Baldwin. 1910. Pp. 387.)

IN the early decades of American independence middle Georgia was a land of rich opportunity, with industrial conditions rapidly changing from frontier to plantation type and a heterogeneous population as rapidly developing an orderly and dignified social regime. In January, 1787, Sarah Porter Hillhouse, a bride who had just accompanied her husband, a New-Englander like herself, to his new home at Washington, Georgia, wrote to her father describing conditions around her:

"There are a few, and a very few, Worthy good people in the Country, near us, but the people in general are the most prophane, blasphemous set of people I ever heard of. They make it a steady practice (if they have money) to come to town every day if possible, and as Mr. Hillhouse is the only person that keeps Liquors, we have the whole throng around us, as many as fifty at a time, take one day with another, and sometimes when any public business is done, which is often, fourteen or sixteen hundred standing so thick that they look like a flock of Black-birds, and perhaps not one in fifty but what we call fighting drunk. . . . They have spent in our cellar for liquor in one day Thirty Pounds Stg., and not a drop carried 1 rod from the store, but sit on a log and swallow it as quick as possible."

The letter from which this extract is taken is the first appearing (pp. 16, 17) in the volume of the *Alexander Letters*. It was written by the great-grandmother of the ten Alexander brothers and sisters of the Civil War generation (born 1824-1848) who wrote the bulk of the remaining letters contained in the volume. If letters of the same period were extant from the other ancestors of the Alexander group they must have been written from homes severally in Virginia, Germany, and Scotland. The Alexanders are thus typical of the cosmopolitan origin of the Georgia settlers, as well as of the prevailing tendency to early marriages and large families (except in the too frequent instances of death in early maturity). The Alexanders and the letters they wrote are illustrative likewise of the combined gentleness and vigor of the social upper class. As Sarah Hillhouse's letter gives a glimpse of rough early conditions, so those of her great-grandchildren contain a quantity of unconscious data upon the life of the plantation gentry as well as upon wartime conditions. The book is full of the intimate, sincere family-talk of unpretentious gentle folk. Numerous pen-pictures occur, as of the giddy city life of Savannah in the flush times of 1818, of Saratoga Springs in 1841, of a rustic watering-place in western Georgia in 1846, of the dead town of Sunbury on the Georgia coast in 1853, of affectionate negroes (pp. 168, 177, 221-223), of the wedding of Robert Toombs's daughter to one of the Alexander brothers in 1853, of military life at West Point on the eve of the war, and of the battles of Fredericksburg and Gettysburg. All of these latter are from the pen of the late General E. P. Alexander, who was Longstreet's chief of artillery at Gettysburg

and the most distinguished member of this generally talented Alexander family. This descriptive material cannot be quoted in a review; but the vivid battle-dispatches (pp. 254-256) demand reprinting. They were all written at Gettysburg on July 3, 1863, within the two hours preceding Pickett's charge.

1. Longstreet to Alexander, about noon.

"Colonel. If the Artillery fire does not have the effect to drive off the enemy or greatly demoralize him, so as to make our effort pretty certain, I would prefer that you should not advise Gen. Pickett to make the charge. I shall rely a great deal upon your good judgment to determine the matter, and shall expect you to let Gen. Pickett know when the moment offers."

2. Alexander to Longstreet, in reply to the above.

"General. I will only be able to judge of the effect of our fire on the enemy by his return fire as his infantry is but little exposed to view, and the smoke will obscure the field. If, as I infer from your note, there is any alternative to this attack, it should be carefully considered before opening our fire, for it will take all the Arty ammunition we have left to test this one thoroughly and if result is unfavourable we will have none left for another effort and even if this is entirely successful it can only be so at a very bloody cost."

3. Longstreet to Alexander, about 12:30 P. M.

"Colonel. The intention is to advance the Inf: if the Arty has the desired effect of driving the enemy off, or, having other effect such as to warrant us in making the attack. When that moment arrives advise Gen. P. and of course advance such artillery as you can use in aiding the attack."

4. Alexander to Longstreet, about 12:40 P. M.

"General when our Arty fire is at its best, I will advise Gen Pickett to advance."

5. Alexander to Pickett, 1:25 P. M.

"General. If you are to advance at all, you must come at once, or we will not be able to support you as we ought. But the enemy's fire has not slackened materially, and there are 18 guns firing from the cemetery."

6. Alexander to Pickett, 1:40 P. M.

"To Genl Pickett. The 18 guns have been driven off. For God's sake come on quick or we cannot support you. Ammunition nearly out."

The volume contains very little contemporary description of actual plantation economy, for it was too familiar to call for description in family correspondence. To supply this lack in part Mrs. Cumming and Mrs. Hull, two of the six Alexander sisters, wrote in 1908 bits of their recollections; and these, which are scattered through the book, are among the most faithful plantation sketches in print.

The collection and editing of the documents by Miss Marion Boggs has been excellently done, as also the preparation by Mrs. George J. Baldwin of the genealogical material at the end of the volume. The

book has been handsomely printed by Mr. Baldwin for private distribution, in an edition limited to 131 copies. It is to be regretted that its accessibility is thus restricted; but those responsible for its production merit cordial thanks for the preservation and the circulation even though limited of the documents.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

Lincoln and Herndon. By JOSEPH FORT NEWTON. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press. 1910. Pp. 367.)

WITH the initial sentiment expressed in the preface of this book everyone will agree: "whoso sends forth another Lincoln book must show cause why it should be read". Not everyone, however, will share the author's conviction that the present volume justifies its own existence by virtue of the new material which it contains, for while it throws considerable light upon the life and habits of the junior member of the law firm of Lincoln and Herndon, it fails to reveal any other Lincoln than the one whom Herndon delineated in his biography. It is somewhat regrettable that the author has allowed himself to be swerved from his original purpose, which was to portray Herndon as the friend, partner, and biographer of Lincoln, and has borrowed so copiously from other writers to depict Lincoln.

Between the years 1854 and 1859, Herndon maintained a rather one-sided correspondence with Theodore Parker, whose writings he had read with the greatest avidity and whose friendship he coveted earnestly. These letters written by Herndon, fifty-two in number, are printed in this volume for the first time, together with about a dozen letters from Parker. As a revelation of Herndon, they have considerable value, but they yield little or no new information about Lincoln. Herndon mentions his partner only a score of times; and his correspondent alludes to Lincoln but thrice. Many suggestive references to local politics occur in Herndon's letters. One of his fixed ideas, which may have some basis in fact, was his conviction that Greeley was responsible for Lincoln's defeat in the senatorial campaign of 1858. Greeley, Seward, Weed, and Douglas, Herndon insists, met in Chicago in October of 1857 and entered upon an agreement whereby the New Yorkers were to support Douglas for the Senate and Douglas was to throw his influence in favor of Seward as candidate for the presidency in 1860. The replies of Parker to Herndon's outpourings were brief but kindly. There is no evidence that Parker shared Herndon's confidence in his law partner or divined Lincoln's real greatness. Both agreed, however, in cordial detestation of Douglas.

Although Herndon labored indefatigably for Lincoln's political preferment, he does not seem to have shaped appreciably the thinking of the older man on political issues. Indeed, in spite of their intimacy of twenty years in the law office, they lived separate lives. They owned a copy of Helper's *Impending Crisis*—the sensation of the year. Her-

don marked many passages which counselled violent retribution upon the slave-owners; Lincoln indicated his conservatism by other markings or by erasures. Herndon was by temperament emotional and precipitate; Lincoln deliberately thought out his convictions. Herndon was an omnivorous reader; Lincoln read little but found endless diversion, and no doubt some instruction, in Herndon's chatter about all manner of things in heaven and on earth, for this disciple of Parker delved in both transcendental philosophy and science.

Not the least valuable part of this volume is the chapter on the Later Herndon—the biographer Herndon. Even while Lincoln was living, Herndon seems to have formed a purpose to write a life of his former partner. Soon after Lincoln's death, he gave a series of lectures on the martyred President, some of which found their way into print. He soon became a recognized authority on Lincoln. Biographers from far and near sought him out. Holland, Barrett, and Arnold, we are led to infer, received far more aid from him than their readers were allowed to suspect, while Lamon's life of Lincoln was based upon material which Herndon, fallen upon evil times, sold for two thousand dollars. Letters which Herndon wrote to Mr. Horace White in 1890 even aver that Chauncey F. Black, son of J. S. Black, wrote Lamon's book—"quite every word of it".

ALLEN JOHNSON.

Stephen A. Douglas. By HENRY PARKER WILLIS, Ph.D. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1910. Pp. 371.)

It is not an easy task to write a popular biography of so controversial a character as Stephen A. Douglas, for the average reader demands a straightforward narrative with bold high-lights, when faithful portraiture requires many half-tones. This latest biography of Douglas conforms to the general purpose of the *Crisis* series in that it gives a direct, simple account of his career on the national stage. The portrait is drawn with rather severe brush-strokes, for Professor Willis has little sympathy with either the character or the principles of Douglas and accepts without much questioning the traditional view of the great rival of Lincoln. The narrative is based frankly on secondary authorities.

The chief criticism of the reviewer concerns the attitude of the author toward his authorities. There is a regrettable tendency to disregard the relative historical values of the earlier biographies and to disparage the importance of original matter which has not fallen within his purview. Sheahan's *Life of Douglas*, for example, published in 1860 for the purposes of a political campaign, is characterized as "the most valuable biography" and "of especial use because it contains long extracts from Douglas's more important speeches as well as other documents supplied by Mr. Douglas himself". And this uncritical appraisal has led to a rather unfortunate reliance upon Sheahan for statements of

fact concerning Douglas's early life which are manifestly incorrect. Touching upon the sources of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, the author remarks that "contemporary newspaper matter is of comparatively little service during the period of the debates". He would surely have modified this statement, if he had consulted the latest and best edition of the debates (the Sparks edition).

There are many matters of interpretation in the book to which exception might be taken. Some of these are demonstrably unfair to Douglas; others are mere matter of opinion which cannot be discussed within the limits of this review. There are, however, certain errors which may not be passed over without comment. Some of these are of an anachronistic sort. Seward, Chase, and Sumner are described as "busy during the early fifties in organizing their great party" (p. 129). "Douglas understood by the end of November [1854] that the Kansas-Nebraska Act had created a tumult. . . ." (p. 225). Yet he had been burned in effigy and nearly mobbed in Chicago three months before. His position in the summer of 1856 is said to have been "rendered even more difficult" by the Dred Scott Decision (p. 237). Perhaps it is this anachronism which has led the author to state, without any evidence, that "the decision was a sorry blow" to him (p. 237).

More serious than these lapses, however, are some misapprehensions regarding matters of political history. It is stated that the Nebraska Bill "almost immediately became highly popular with the Southern element" (p. 193). The hesitation of many Southern leaders, on the contrary, is commented upon by newspaper correspondents. President Pierce endorsed "not only the Douglas bill but also the Dixon amendment" (p. 197). This Douglas bill, however, was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill which did not contain the Dixon amendment. By an odd slip, the author states that "the slave interest was stronger in the proposed territory of Nebraska than in Kansas" (p. 198). The first governor of Kansas was not Edwin but Andrew H. Reeder. The text does not make clear just what the people of Kansas voted upon in the summer of 1857—the Lecompton Constitution, the English bill, or the land ordinances (p. 254).

In general, this life of Douglas compares favorably with other volumes in the series, and it will doubtless call attention again to a much neglected figure in American politics.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

William H. Seward. By EDWARD EVERETT HALE, JR. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1910. Pp. 388.)

CONSIDERING style as the mere vehicle of expression, Professor Hale's *Seward* has the superior qualities of clearness and fluency; and his temper is excellent. As to method, he himself says that it is "somewhat irregular": he might have said more without risk of contradic-

tion. Some omissions and superficialities seriously increase the irregularities. Mastery of many vast fields of facts must precede analysis, and analysis must precede a correct exposition of the tangled threads of politics and statesmanship. And we find only slight evidences of that insight into politics and human character, which is a prerequisite of success with a hero like Seward.

For just twenty years Seward was continuously either United States Senator or Secretary of State. During all but the last four years he was among the few most important men of that period; and whose national career has been so persistently disputed about in regard to so many subjects? Although his public life in his state, where he was senator from Cayuga County and governor, each for four years—was comparatively unimportant, just one-half of the volume is given to it. Our author admits that he has not examined the Seward papers in Auburn. If he had, perhaps he would not put so much stress on the two fragments of Seward's correspondence, heretofore unused, but which do not seem to have disclosed anything of real value. The first half of the book would be improved if the 180 pages were reduced to 90 or 100. Then the author might have found time for more than superficial and misleading accounts of Seward's schemes and acts during the winter of 1860-1861 and the following spring. He ought at least to have given clear and correct summaries of the investigations of previous writers on Seward. The climax of irregularity is to be found in the fact that Seward's four years in Johnson's Cabinet are considered worth hardly a dozen pages.

There are some remarkable blunders. We are told: "There was no one living who had preceded him [Seward] as the champion of anti-slavery in public life" (p. 260). The author ought at least to have heard of his namesake, John P. Hale, who, as representative from New Hampshire, defied his state's instructions to vote for the annexation of Texas and, in January, 1845, wrote a letter against it; was consequently defeated for renomination; was in 1846 elected United States senator; and in 1847 was nominated for the presidency by the National Liberty Convention, but declined. In the campaign of 1848 Seward supported General Taylor, a slaveholder; and did not enter the United States Senate until March, 1849, where Hale had been active and daring for two years. What was David Wilmot if not a national antislavery man after he introduced his proviso, in 1846? And there were others.

Professor Hale quotes (pp. 292-293) from the *Life and Correspondence of J. T. Delane* (published in 1908) a long sentence from a letter from Palmerston to Delane, the editor of the *London Times*, about the interview with Adams, in which he says that the British law officers had been consulted and had given the decision that the British practice would allow the seizure of the *Trent*. Professor Hale considers this a discovery deserving special comment. It is really as startling as finding one's pocket-knife in one's own pocket. Whoever will turn to the *Life of Charles Francis Adams* (published in 1900), p. 221—in the same para-

graph from which Professor Hale (*Seward*, p. 291) has just quoted—will see Adams's full and almost verbatim statement of all the important points mentioned by Palmerston! An intelligent reading of the chapters on the *Trent* in Adams's *Adams* and in Bancroft's *Seward* should have made it easy to write a concise, accurate, and impartial account of that great incident.

Professor Hale's bibliography leaves unnoticed, or mentions in the vaguest manner, most of the books about Seward that ought to be particularly described, to aid ordinary readers. Nicolay and Hay, Rhodes, and others of equal quality are not considered worth mentioning. But newspapers of Cayuga County and of Albany, the *New York Tribune*, and the *London Times*, are paraded as if they were rich and previously untouched mines, now thoroughly used and giving much prestige; and the last, we are gravely told, "should always be consulted for any special incident, as that of the *Trent* or Gladstone's Newcastle speech" (376)!

Reminiscences of the Geneva Tribunal of Arbitration, 1872. The Alabama Claims. By FRANK WARREN HACKETT. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1911. Pp. xvi, 450.)

MR. HACKETT's volume, besides embodying his personal recollections of the Geneva Tribunal, gives a full and careful exposition of the international controversy which that tribunal was organized finally to determine. The arbitration at Geneva related to the claims which the government of the United States preferred against that of Great Britain for compensation for the losses caused by the depredations of the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers fitted out in British ports during the Civil War. The United States asserted that Great Britain had incurred a liability to pay these claims, while Great Britain denied it; and in this assertion and denial there were involved disputed questions of law as to the scope of a neutral's duties and disputed questions of fact as to the manner in which the British authorities had performed their obligations. By the Treaty of Washington of May 8, 1871, three rules were agreed upon as a definition of neutral duty, and for the application of these rules provision was made for the appointment of a board of arbitrators. This board, which met at Geneva, consisted of Charles Francis Adams, appointed by the United States; Sir Alexander Cockburn, Lord Chief Justice of England, appointed by Great Britain; and Count Sclopis, Mr. Staempfli, and Baron d'Itajubá, respectively appointed by the governments of Italy, Switzerland, and Brazil. Before this tribunal Bancroft Davis and Lord Tenterden respectively represented, as agents, the United States and Great Britain. Caleb Cushing, William M. Evarts, and Morrison R. Waite, afterwards Chief Justice, appeared as counsel for the United States; Sir Roundell Palmer, afterwards Lord Selborne, alone had the title of counsel for Great Britain, but was assisted by Messrs. Mountague Bernard and Arthur Cohen.

Mr. Hackett, who had then lately been admitted to the bar, was

invited by Mr. Cushing to accompany him to Geneva as his private secretary. He accepted the invitation, and, although he had not previously known Cushing, was of course soon brought into intimate relations with him. The descriptions which he gives of his chief, and of his conduct on various occasions, confirm our impressions of the extensive learning, wide culture, mental vivacity, and versatility of that interesting and remarkable man. In a similar manner, we are enabled to come into closer relations with the other actors in the drama, and especially so with Count Sclopis and Sir Alexander Cockburn, with Messrs. Davis, Evarts, and Waite, and with Lord Tenterden, as well as with certain attachés of the tribunal and with some of the journalists who were sent to Geneva to report its proceedings. Mr. Hackett was a close and intelligent observer, and as he went along made frequent notes which he has incorporated into his text. These tend to add to the substantial value of his reminiscences, since there is nothing more insecure than personal recollection unsupported and uncontrolled by contemporaneous records.

In the preparation of his volume, Mr. Hackett has had an opportunity to consult the unpublished correspondence in the Department of State, as well as certain papers of the late Bancroft Davis now in that department. These sources have, however, heretofore been used for the purpose of illustrating the public aspects of the transaction, and nothing has been disclosed of a nature substantially to change the weight of evidence as to those aspects. The fact is well known that the arbitration came to the brink of failure on account of the so-called "indirect" claims which were included in the case of the United States. Mr. Hackett says, on page 172: "The truth is, there was no ground whatever for the statement that the United States had waived this class of claims, and that they were not included in the submission of the treaty." This language is more extreme than that which the author employs in certain other places, and it is hardly necessary to go so far in order to maintain, as he does, that the claims were fairly to be considered as embraced by the terms of the submission. That they were so embraced, was the unquestionable understanding of the American negotiators of the treaty; the British negotiators, on the other hand, appear to have thought the contrary. It is no new thing for the negotiators of a treaty to hold contrary views as to its meaning; and especially is this the case with regard to delicate points, which they are likely to try to dispose of without employing such explicit words as may give a dangerous prominence to concessions. It is gratifying to observe that Mr. Hackett has fully disclosed the important part taken by Bancroft Davis in the litigation. He has also exhibited a just appreciation of the service rendered by the late Hamilton Fish, to his country and to the world, in the negotiation and preservation of the treaty. Mr. Hackett states (p. 65) that "Mr. Fish, upon motion of the British commissioners, was chosen presiding officer" of the Joint High Commission

by which the treaty was negotiated. The British commissioners did indeed make the proposal, but Mr. Fish declined it, being of opinion that the appointment of a presiding officer would entail unnecessary formality of procedure and obstruct the free and direct interchange of views.

J. B. MOORE.

Storm van 's Gravesande: the Rise of British Guiana. Compiled from his despatches by C. A. HARRIS, C.B., C.M.G., Chief Clerk, Colonial Office, and J. A. J. DE VILLIERS, of the British Museum. In two volumes. (London: Hakluyt Society. 1911. Pp. 1-372; 373-703.)

To all students of the history of European colonization, and not least to those who a decade or so ago were stirred to an interest in the story of Guiana by the boundary disputes of Great Britain with Venezuela and Brazil, these volumes will be welcome. In both those controversies and in the great lawsuits which ended them the editors of the present work had a notable share. To Mr. Harris, then as now Chief Clerk of the Colonial Office, must largely have fallen the preparation of the evidence for the British claims; and Mr. de Villiers, whose Huguenot name, though suggestive of one long eminent in English politics and diplomacy, bespeaks in his case an Africander origin, and who to his duties in the British Museum had not yet added the Honorary Secretaryship of the Hakluyt Society, was not only the translator of the Dutch documents used by Great Britain, but in great part their collector as well. The despatches which now they publish have therefore long been to them an object of study and in part have already seen the light in the blue-books and arguments of the boundary controversies. In these, however, there was room for only the passages cardinal to the points in dispute. It is from the broader point of view of the historian and the geographer that the correspondence of Storm van 's Gravesande is now laid under tribute.

What they give us is still, indeed, only a selection. So detailed are the governor's reports that, as now preserved in the British Record Office, they would, we are told, fill more than twenty volumes such as these. But though the editors offer us only a part, it is a part chosen by those who have minutely sifted the whole: and, as one who like them had once to wade through it all, the present reviewer may venture to commend their choice—though not without a regret that the story of administration and of commerce has left so little room for that of manners. They have enriched what they have given us by a half-volume of historical introduction, by maps and views, by a facsimile of Storm's astonishing handwriting, by helpful foot-notes and an excellent index.

It is not alone the accessibility of these documents to their English editors which explains their choice for publication. In all the sordid story of Dutch colonial exploitation no episode is richer in lessons than the career of this able and public-spirited governor, who in spite of

the neglect of his European superiors and the distrust or the jealousy of his colonial subordinates devoted his long life of service to a broad-minded and far-sighted policy which only history was to appreciate. An engineer, a soldier, a scholar, as well as a man of affairs, and withal a most human and likable neighbor and friend, he put the whole of himself into his thankless task, and the colony reaped manyfold the results. His editors have no whit exaggerated his merits or his difficulties, and, despite the palpable anachronism, it is hardly too much to call this record of the labors of the old Dutch governor, as do they, "the rise of British Guiana".

To those who know the earlier work of the editors it needs no saying that the translation is conscientious and vigorous. The annotations add much to our knowledge, and it is only when they venture too far afield that they can so err as (p. 344) to place the two Acadian forts mentioned by Storm in 1755 as just captured by the English "in the valley of the Ohio". It is an especial pleasure, too, to chronicle with what open minds, both in the notes and in the historical introduction, they often abandon claims maintained by English diplomacy in the heat of the boundary discussions and know how as scholars to profit even by the research of their old antagonists. Thus, to take but a single instance, the "Wild Coast" so persistently and (as it seemed to American critics) so wrongheadedly defined by the advocates of British claims as the stretch between the Orinoco and the Essequibo is frankly explained in these pages as "the coast between the Amazon and Orinoco", though not without making as much as possible of the looseness of speech by which the Zeelanders came sometimes to apply it to Essequibo alone, their own possession on this coast. It would, indeed, be too much to hope from human nature that writers whose part in that old controversy was so great should emancipate themselves wholly from its influence. There still spooks in their pages, though they are careful to admit (p. 72) that Storm never refers to such a post "and possibly had even lost the record of its existence", the "old post of 1685 in the Pariacot Savannah" (a savanna whose existence under such a name is as mythical as the post itself); and on their map this imaginary savanna is, as of old, given local habitation in that extreme west of the basin of the Cuyuni where it best suited British claims. This map, based on that prepared for Great Britain's case in the arbitration, is indeed much more tenacious of old claims than is the text. It still shows at the mouth of the Yuruari the fabulous "Dutch settlement" of 1750, which the historical introduction leaves wisely unmentioned, and confidently assigns the site which pleases it to the doubtful "Dutch Post before 1703", about which the introduction is equally silent. On the Barima, however, though the map shows still a "Site of Dutch Post 1684", it conscientiously adds "(Traditional)", while the introduction, with admirable caution and precision, says only: "By 1683 a further advance was made in placing a Company's officer at Barima, probably not at Barima Point itself but rather in the centre of the Barima district."

But the reviewer must not forget that as to these questions he too, while his interest in the controversy was never consciously that of a partisan, may fairly be suspected of a *parti pris*. He must, however, here take occasion to protest that the ascription to himself (p. 18) of a suggestion that the Pomeroon colony of 1658-1665 "was little more than a paper scheme" is so far from exact that he can find himself to have maintained only the precise opposite, quoting in his report to the American commission the contemporary testimony of Governor Byam (he believes he was the first to quote it) that it was "a most flourishing colony", and later pointing out in this magazine the fresh evidence as to its prosperity unearthed by British research at Veere. To the charge (p. 147) of attacking the credibility of Captain John Scott he must plead guilty; but, as his attack consisted only in calling attention to the verdicts of Scott's contemporaries and the difficulty of reconciling his statements with what is else known, it might have been more to the purpose to deal directly with these. He especially regrets that the editors have profited so little by the later researches of another American student, Mr. Samuel Oppenheim, whose well-documented studies on the history of the Jews in Guiana have opened new and serious problems for the defenders of Scott's accuracy.

Of the bearing of this work on the history of the conflicting claims in Guiana of Great Britain and Brazil the reviewer must not presume to speak with such assurance, though to these too he has devoted study and on them hopes some day to say a word. He will not doubt that to their interpretation of the passages bearing on these issues the editors have given as conscientious a revision as to those bearing on the western frontier; but he can not turn from this review without a plea that the future historian of Guiana may not accept even such matured conclusions without a fresh study for himself of the thick volumes of evidence and of argument in which, with an historical insight, a fairness of spirit, a self-respecting sincerity, rare in the political intercourse of nations, the case of Brazil was stated and urged by her spokesman in the proceedings for arbitration, the scholar and statesman who was later her ambassador at London and at Washington, Senhor Joaquim Nabuco.

GEORGE L. BURR.

MINOR NOTICES

Plutarch's Cimon and Pericles, with the Funeral Oration of Pericles (Thucydides, ii, 35-46). Newly translated, with introduction and notes, by Bernadotte Perrin, Lampson Professor (Emeritus) of Greek Literature and History in Yale University. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, pp. xiii, 287.) The immense importance of Plutarch's *Lives* to the student of ancient history and their literary and dramatic charm, which has not aged or withered during eighteen centuries, are enough to justify the work of Professor Perrin in re-translating the lives of

Cimon and Pericles. The task of the translator is to interpret a classic in the literary style of his day that its ancient appeal may still be felt by his generation. New translations must therefore appear from time to time, better adapted to the changing standards and requirements of a new day; and they will usurp the place of the former ones. So lovers of Plutarch will find that Professor Perrin's version of the lives of Cimon and Pericles has supplanted the Dryden-Clough translation, satisfactory as it was, as did his *Themistocles and Aristides* published in 1901.

The introduction to the biographies includes an outline sketch of the *Pentecontaëtia*, an analysis of the two lives, and a thorough discussion of the intricate problem of the sources used by Plutarch in writing them. Of these the keen and discriminating treatment of the sources will be most useful to the student of history. The explanatory notes following each of the lives are the product of a fine and careful scholarship. At the end of the life of Pericles, Professor Perrin has added an admirable rendering of the funeral oration delivered by Pericles at the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides, II., 35-46). A typical passage from this masterpiece (p. 169) will give sufficient evidence of the distinction of style and the nicety of translation characteristic of Professor Perrin's book:

"We need no Homer to sing our praises, nor any poet whose verses shall give fleeting delight, while his notion of the facts suffers at the hands of truth; nay, we have forced every sea and land to be pathways for our daring, and have everywhere established reminders of what our enmity or our friendship means, and they will abide forever. It was for such a city, then, that these dead warriors of ours so nobly gave their lives in battle; they deemed it their right not to be robbed of her, and every man who survives them should gladly toil in her behalf."

In the preface Professor Perrin states: "The third volume, the *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, I think can follow soon, if my sight is spared to me." Every reader of this volume who has any feeling for the delicacy of workmanship displayed in it, will join the reviewer in the hope that the new volume may soon appear and be followed by others of the lives.

W. L. WESTERMANN.

Annals of Caesar: a Critical Biography, with a Survey of the Sources. By E. G. Sihler, Ph.D., Professor of the Latin Language and Literature in New York University. (New York, G. E. Stechert and Company, 1911, pp. ix, 330.) This essay is called a *Critical Biography*, and makes proper claim to be based on a careful study of the sources. It may be justly considered a work of deep research and honest scholarship, in many ways reflecting high credit upon its author; and it is no small misfortune that these qualities are offset by others, less favorable, which impair considerably the value of the whole work. Probably the trouble lies in the fact that the book is given us by one who is primarily a student of Latin, but who is attacking a problem which is strictly

historical. The work falls into twenty-five chapters, and of these, the preface asserts, all but two are "here presented substantially in the form and sequence of the lectures [by the author] on the 'Life and Letters of Julius Caesar'". College lectures, however excellent *in se*, seldom bear reproduction in book-form without extensive recasting, and this volume is no exception to the rule. There is a painful omission of everything partaking of literary grace. The style is always rugged. The statements of fact are often very bald. At times the arrangement of sentences and paragraphs reminds one of the unhappy traits of a typical German doctoral thesis.

As to the subject-matter, Professor Sihler proves with erudition that Julius Caesar was a surpassingly great, albeit a distinctly imperfect, man: a conclusion entirely just, but by no means unique. The treatment is everywhere conservative, and now and then one is tempted to wish that the author had allowed himself a little more amplitude in his discussion. The statement (pp. 67-71) of Caesar's part in Catiline's conspiracy is to say the least so meagre as to give a very imperfect setting to the whole story. Again the treatment of the Gallic wars seems to ignore the large contributions of recent French scholars to the subject. For instance, although there are references to the English work of Holmes, there appears no sign of the least use of such an obvious and standard authority as Bloch.

In the appendix the author makes a violent and rather interjectional attack upon the Caesar-worship of Mommsen and Froude. The latter has indeed not a few shortcomings to answer for, but it is neither dignified nor fair to describe his *Caesar* as "a semi-novelistic congeries of notions and judgments bred in Froude's fancy". The assault on Mommsen, which is hardly less measured, will provoke earnest dissent from the thousands of scholars who have learned to reverence one of the greatest historians who ever lived. Mommsen's view of Caesar may be wrong, but to call his whole history a "veritable incubus", and to devote six pages of fine type to ill-considered sneers at his views and genius will hardly add to the weight of Professor Sihler's volume. This is the more unfortunate because, if cast in a happier literary form and with less asperity of judgment, the book would hold a worthy place among recent works on Roman history.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

The Spirit of Power, as seen in the Christian Church in the Second Century. By Ernest Arthur Edghill, M.A. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1910, pp. xi, 324.) Conventional church histories are often dominated by the sole purpose of constructing the growth of the dogmatic and administrative forms reached by the institution in its full historic development. From the early period they select such data as are related to the resultant form, obscuring or losing, by this selective interest, the life and substance of the Christian movement in its early plastic period. Our sources show that substance as

a personal and socialized life which laid hold on men by sovereign moral compulsion, the doctrinal conceptions being secondary and apologetic aids. Mr. Edghill, a lecturer in King's College, London, presents a useful study of this interior life of the Christian movement to show how the Church of the second century lived and grew in spiritual energy. What he modestly calls an impressionistic sketch deals with the regenerative moral power of Christianity, the spiritual power revealed in persecution, and the practical beneficence which elucidates the saying: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." The last section deals with the Christian treatment of women, children, slaves, prisoners, and the poor.

The reader finds both edification and vivid concrete information in this study and a correction of some partisan misrepresentations, as, for example, in the matter of Christian views about the pagan state and pagan virtue (pp. 68-69). The author has drawn directly from the sources, quoting them richly but not always using proper caution in the valuation of them. He seems to generalize too much from the African conditions pungently exhibited by Tertullian and even for Africa forgets that the rhetorical Tertullian was not a scientific social observer. From Justin's apologetic argument he develops the view that the persecutions were due to Jewish animosity and finds that animosity not only in the "envy" of I Clem. v., but in the envy which by Paul's account (Philippians i. 15) preached Christ. Mr. Edghill has much false rhetoric and succumbs to a vicious antithesis—the Church and the World. He conceives that from Nero's time the whole world was watching the Church and was bent on crushing it. This vitiates the treatment of the persecutions so far as the Roman governmental action is concerned. His indictment of the emperor is in any case not necessary to the purpose of his study.

There are occasional errors. The reference on page 87 should be to Rom. vii. The *ista civitas* of Tertullian *Ad Nat.*, I. 14, must refer to Rome, not Carthage (p. 135). Without the aid of Harnack's *Mission und Ausbreitung*, Mr. Edghill would not have achieved his book. It is regrettable that (p. 28) he misrepresents Harnack's caution in using Pliny's letter as an indication that the diffusion of Christianity in Bithynia is an unwelcome fact to the German historian.

Beiträge zur Byzantinischen Kulturgeschichte am Ausgange des IV. Jahrhunderts, aus den Schriften des Johannes Chrysostomos. Von Rev. J. Milton Vance, Dr. phil. (Jena). (Jena, G. Neuenhahn, 1907, pp. vi, 82.) This well-written dissertation for the doctorate in philosophy is an example of a method of work deserving to be followed more widely. It is a careful study of the theological works of a great Christian writer in order to obtain material for the historian of social life. Dr. Vance has gone systematically through all the very extensive works of Chrysostom with his eyes wide open for every reference that could be utilized. The amount of labor represented by these

smoothly written pages is very great. But a mass of valuable information is brought together with exact references to the original sources. To what extent the same method would be profitable in the case of other fathers it would be difficult to say. Chrysostom was singularly well placed as a mirror of the life of the times, having worked both in Antioch and in Constantinople, two of the principal cities of the Eastern Empire. His incidental references are therefore the more valuable as illustrating general custom. His allusions to every-day conditions must have been intelligible and substantially correct, otherwise they would not have served as illustrations. They may be therefore relied on for the most part. Another advantage in these illustrations and allusions is that they are absolutely contemporaneous and were recorded without any thought of their historical significance. That there are limitations to the use of a rhetorician's descriptions of contemporaneous social life the author points out. Chrysostom was a man immensely in earnest, even fanatical, and in the excitement of his oratorical delivery might easily have exaggerated. This, however, can be guarded against, as is pointed out, and the rhetorical bursts are generally evident to the reader. The book contains sections on varied topics. The most interesting are those on religion and family life. But there are also, in addition to pictures of imperial and court life and the army, accounts of the common life of rhetoricians and physicians, of the industrial world and the practice of agriculture, of sports and pastimes, the moral life of society, poverty and almsgiving, and slavery. These are all topics which are by no means clearly described in contemporaneous historical works or in the laws and other public regulations, and other sources commonly relied on for the knowledge of the more intimate life of society.

J. C. A. JR.

La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au Moyen Age d'après quelques Écrits Français à l'Usage des Laïcs. Par Ch.-V. Langlois. (Paris, Hachette et Cie, 1911, pp. xxiv, 400.) This is the third and last of a series of short works intended by their author to afford a precise idea of the ways of society in medieval France, and the knowledge (say rather, ignorance) of nature possessed by gentlemen. The two previous volumes were *La Société Française au XIII^e Siècle d'après quelques Romans d'Aventure* (1904), and *La Vie en France au Moyen Age d'après quelques Moralistes du Temps* (1908). In the present one, Mr. Langlois says in his introduction, "mon but était de mettre sous les yeux du lecteur les documents les plus propres à procurer une connaissance générale, et l'impression précise, de ce qu'était l'état d'esprit des hommes du moyen âge qui n'étaient pas des savants (et celui des savants d'alors n'en différait guère) au sujet des choses de la nature".

He has given us six well-chosen examples of widely used works of popular instruction, chiefly upon the sensible things of the world of man's environment. They are the *Lapidaire* of Philippe de Thaon; the

Image du Monde, composed about the middle of the thirteenth century, and drawn in part from the *Imago Mundi* of Honorius of Autun; the *Propriétés des Choses* of Bartholomaeus Anglicus; the *Roman de Sidrach*; the dialogue of *Placides et Timeo*, or the *Livre des Secrets aux Philosophes*; and *Le Livre du Trésor* of Brunetto Latino, who as we know was the Florentine master of Dante, and wrote his book in French. Taken together these writings afford an idea of the natural knowledge current in the thirteenth century. Each one is introduced with a critical notice of its probable date and provenance; and its contents are given in condensed paraphrase, or occasionally in the words of the original. Mr. Langlois disclaims any intent of dealing with the history of the sciences in the Middle Ages, an immense domain which, as he says, is neither rich nor well cultivated. At first blush some of us perhaps would have preferred sketches or excerpts from the more learned, if not scientific, literature which was in Latin. Yet most of that also was unintelligently compiled from older writings, and had no greater value than these popular writings in the vernacular. The most enthusiastic of our medievalists are apt to balk at the study of the natural sciences in the Middle Ages.

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR.

The Making of Scotland. Lectures on the War of Independence delivered in the University of Glasgow. By the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bt., F.R.S., LL.D. (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1911, pp. xi, 242.) In this volume the author addresses himself to the old problem of the feudal relation of Scotland to England in the Middle Ages. The first lecture is chiefly concerned with the question of homage and carries the discussion down to the death of the Maid of Norway in 1290. The following four lectures tell the story of English aggression and Scottish resistance to the truce of 1369. The series closes with a discussion of the subsequent border warfare. The author gives us a good, clear, and readable summary of the Scottish struggle for nationality; but it can in no sense be called an important contribution. Sir Herbert believes with Freeman and Skene that the cession of Strathclyde to Scotland in 945 implied feudal obligations for that region; but in general he supports the Scottish contention that the kings of Scotland did homage for English lands only, except during the brief period from 1175 to 1189, when the northern kingdom was in feudal dependence on England. The most remarkable thing about the book is the author's favorable attitude toward Edward I. He believes "that the whole trend of his policy toward the northern kingdom was pacific. . . . Edward never interfered actively with the government of Scotland until he was invited to do so by the leaders of both parties in the disputed succession" (p. 44). It was the anarchy across the border that forced him to undertake the conquest; after the conquest the Scotsmen who still resisted "technically had to be regarded as rebels" (p. 123). The success of the movement for independence the author ascribes chiefly to

ecclesiastical influence: the northern prelates could not endure the thought of submission to the primacy of York.

On the age of the Bruces Sir Herbert seems to be thoroughly informed; but in his discussion of earlier matters he is not always accurate. Eadgar became king in 1097, not in 1074. In tracing the history of the homage, the author overlooks Malcolm's oath to Cnut in 1031. Bernicia and Northumbria are not convertible terms (p. 8). And in the days of Stephen, Northumberland and Cumberland, though feudal possessions of the Scottish king, were not a "part of the Scottish realm" (p. 25).

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

The Charters of the Borough of Southampton. Edited, with introduction and notes, by H. W. Gidden, M.A. In two volumes. [Publications of the Southampton Record Society, edited by Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D.] (Southampton, Cox and Sharland, 1909, pp. xxv, 129; 242.) These volumes are prefaced by an introduction in which the editor traces Southampton's evolution as a town by means of its charters. The supply of material is "almost unique among the records of English boroughs". The first of the charters, which are presented in the original accompanied by translation, is by John, in 1199, but a charter of Richard II. quotes from charters of Henry II. and Richard I., of which the originals have been lost. ("Henry VI.," introd., p. vii, should read Richard II.) In John's charter the king's dues were compounded for £200.

In 1366 Edward III. granted certain imposts derived from port dues (quayage) to the town, at the rate of one penny in the pound, for repairing the walls. This revenue was probably large, for at this time the Genoese and Venetians, who carried on all the Levant trade, landed their goods at Southampton instead of making the longer journey to Calais. Southampton was exceeded in importance as a port only by London, contributing 21 ships and 576 men to Edward's French wars, while London contributed 25 ships and 662 men. The Genoese and Venetians exchanged their cargoes for "wool, hides, woollfells, lead, tin", etc. This trade flourished for some 150 years, but the charter of Edward VI. (1552) shows how sadly it had fallen off. The fee-farm of £200 was therefore reduced to £50, "provided, firstly, that the petty customs of the town do not amount to the required £200; secondly, that no carracks of Genoa nor galleys of Venice come to the port".

In 1445 Henry VI. granted the town a charter of incorporation. The right of succession is now vested, not as earlier in the burgesses and their *heirs*, but in the mayor, bailiffs, burgesses, and their *successors*.

The final charter was given by Charles I. in 1640 and continued in force till the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. The "recall" is suggested in that the recorder and six aldermen could depose the mayor "for evil government"; and that the mayor, recorder, and six alder-

men could depose an alderman "for evil demeaning of himself". A new election was to be held by the burgesses within fifteen days.

One of the appendixes describes the penmanship, initial letters and other ornamentation, seals, coloring, etc., of the charters. Another gives a charter in French, in which Henry V. remits for ten years to the burgesses of Southampton £140 of the fee-farm of the town, assigned to Queen Joan of Navarre as part of her dower.

CHARLES T. WYCKOFF.

The History of Parliamentary Taxation in England. By Shepard Ashman Morgan, M.A. [Williams College David A. Wells Prize Essays.] (New York, Moffat, Yard, and Company, 1911, pp. xvii, 317.) We are informed in the preface that, this competition being confined to students and recent graduates of a college which offers no post-graduate instruction, "it is not intended to require original historical research, but rather to encourage a thoughtful handling of problems in political science". The author should have furnished us with a bibliography, or at least indicated the editions and texts of the works to which reference is made in the foot-notes. He follows Stubbs, Taswell-Langmead, and Cobbett's *Parliamentary History of England* so closely, however, that it is not difficult to trace his course, though he uses McKechnie to advantage on subjects connected with Magna Charta. The references indicate clearly the working value of Adams and Stephens's *Select Documents*. There does not appear to be any reference to Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law*, and there is very little use of the later literature on the subject.

On two or three important subjects this failure to take advantage of further studies, made since Stubbs, has led the writer into error.

Although referring to two pages of Vinogradoff, he seems to retain the old impression that folkland was national or public land, instead of land held by individuals under folk-right, not to be alienated from the community of the kindred except by consent of the king and witan.

Again, in regard to scutage, although he refers to two pages of Baldwin's scholarly essay on the subject, he speaks of it as "a money payment in lieu of service because it was convenient to both of them, and the barons were relieved, if so they pleased, of the burden of military service". As a matter of fact, there could be no voluntary commutation of military service. In cases where the scutage was paid by those holding knights' fees, or by the minor tenants-in-chief, they did not have free option. The king determined whether he would allow them to pay scutage.

The work comprises seven chapters beginning with the Saxon period, the larger part of the book tracing the transfer of the taxing authority from the king in the twelfth century to the final establishment of Parliamentary authority by the Bill of Rights. Considerable attention is given to the tax on wool and a brief outline of its history is given.

The appropriation of supplies and the audit of accounts do not receive the attention they deserve.

The subjects of the paragraphs are noted in the margins, which are wide and well adapted for annotation, except that the paper will not take ink.

CHARLES L. WELLS.

Das Formelbuch des Heinrich Bucglant: an die Päpstliche Kurie in Avignon gerichtete Suppliken aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von J. Schwalm. (Hamburg, Lucas Gräfe, 1910, pp. xlv, 188.) An element of some importance at the papal court in the later Middle Ages was the body of agents and go-betweens of various sorts who made a living out of the great number of petitioners and penitents whose ignorance of the language and practice of the Curia compelled them to rely on the assistance of such local experts. Several men of this class were employed by the city council of Hamburg in the course of its protracted controversies with the cathedral chapter, and one of these, Heinrich Bucglant, took advantage of his long residence at Avignon to copy actual forms of petitions to the pope which had come under his notice and seemed worth preserving as models for future use. His original manuscript is preserved in the Stadtbibliothek at Hamburg and has been edited by Dr. Schwalm with the care and learning which are to be expected of him. The persons and facts mentioned have been followed up at the Vatican and in various local archives, and various pertinent problems examined. Except for a very brief set of forms from ca. 1225, this is the earliest formulary of petitions so far known, and besides illustrating with some fulness the methods of intercourse with the Curia in the first half of the fourteenth century, it throws light upon various matters of local, especially German, history. Facsimiles are given, and other forms from manuscripts in Erfurt and Turin are printed in the appendix. It is to be hoped that this publication will call renewed attention to the study of petitions, which by reason of the fulness with which they often state their case, frequently contain valuable information omitted from the documents based upon them.

C. H. H.

Les Comtes de Savoie et les Rois de France pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans (1329-1391). Par Jean Cordey, Docteur ès Lettres. [Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.] Paris, Honoré Champion, 1911, pp. xvi, 391.) This monograph is both sequel and supplement to M. Paul Fournier's *Le Royaume d'Arles et de Vienne (1138-1378)*. It is a chapter in the history of the slow extension of French influence during the fourteenth century over the southeastern feudatories, of whom the counts of Dauphiné and Savoy were the greatest. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries English ascendancy was uppermost in Savoy, owing to the ambitious continental policy of Henry II. and the marriage

of Henry III. to Eleanor of Savoy. But in the fourteenth century French influence began to dominate. The Count of Savoy had two country houses near Paris and a hôtel in the city. The Hundred Years' War was the turning point of Savoyard policy. Amédée V. fought in Flanders for Edward I. against Philip IV. His son married Blanche of Burgundy, a granddaughter of St. Louis, and Edward III. could not draw him into the network of English allies he tried to weave around France. In the great years of Crecy, Poitiers, and Roosebeke Savoyard knights are found fighting for the French king. The ravages of the Free Companies in Burgundy and in the Rhone Valley were a potent factor in making Savoy incline to the French crown; chapters ix.-x., *La Lutte contre les Grands Compagnies (1360-1381)*, are among the most interesting in the book. But Savoy paid dearly for the price of French protection. The acquisition of Dauphiné in 1349 closed the Rhone to Savoyard ambition to reach the Mediterranean and is the point of departure of Savoy's Italian policy. From the point of view of general European history the ninth chapter, dealing with the beginnings of this policy, is the most valuable. M. Cordey has thoroughly explored the archives at Chambéry, Turin, Grenoble, Geneva, Lausanne, and Paris. Nearly one-half the volume is composed of *pièces justificatives*. The bibliography is very full.

J. W. T.

Die Anfänge Karls V. Von Andreas Walther. (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1911, pp. xiii, 258.) The title is a misnomer for the actual thesis of this little work. The author does not discuss the beginnings of the reign of the Emperor Charles V. but devotes his whole space to a consideration of the influences at work during the minority of the boy Charles of Austria. He lays stress, perhaps overconfidently, on the peculiar weight and value of the various persons engaged in the administration of Netherland affairs during the first two decades of the sixteenth century, which were also the first two decades of the life of the future emperor, decades almost completely anterior to the imperial election. The author has already published a suggestive little book entitled *Burgundische Zentralbehörden* as the fruit of his researches at Lille among the papers of Margaret of Austria and the financial accounts of the Burgundian administration. The present book is based on the same sources and contains, moreover, as an appendix thirty-five unedited letters from Margaret's correspondence.

It is easy to concede the truth of the statement that the epoch in question was the close of medieval feudalism as well as the end of the independent existence of the Burgundian state, as far as it was a state. The local feudal authority of the Netherland nobles, reasserted after the cessation of the centralizing efforts of Charles the Bold, held sway in opposition to regents and duke until the majesty of Burgundy as such was clouded by that of Spain and finally overshadowed by the imperial dignity of its duke. In the light of his conviction that state policies

cannot be understood without a comprehension of the personalities that lie behind any vague terms such as "England", "Germany", or even "Charles V.", the author gives several character-sketches, the best being those of Chièvres, of Gattinara, and of the Infant Charles himself. Chièvres is perhaps rated higher than that astute member of the Croy family wholly deserves, while the last summary possibly underrates the boy, although each allegation is carefully attested. It certainly shows insight into childish traits to say in speaking of Chièvres and his ascendancy over Charles that the Infant was alienated from his aunt and grandfather by their wrangles over him and turned confidently to the calm atmosphere of the conservative Fleming. That children hate uncertainty of moods and temper and are, as a rule, innately conservative is not always understood. Nevertheless it is questionable whether the trend of affairs at that crisis would have been different had Charles set his affections elsewhere. Here again is over-stress on individual weight.

There are other little human touches showing originality of conception on the part of the author, but his two-hundred-odd pages give too brief a space for all that he attempts to crowd into it, and the book is hard reading even while the reader appreciates the industry and enthusiasm that have entered into its making. But it should not be neglected by any student of the period.

Sixtine Rome. By J. A. F. Orbaan, D.Ph. (London, Constable and Company, 1910, pp. viii, 295.) The writer of this book made very laborious and careful preparation for it. He read the primary sources in print and the best secondary works, including a number of rare books not easy to find outside of the Roman libraries of which he talks with the affection of one who knows. He studied many contemporary manuscripts and made extracts from them. He thus collected a mass of valuable notes on points connected with Sixtus V. and the architectural changes he made in Rome. This material he started to use in a popular book on Rome as that great pope found it and as he left it. In an imaginative opening passage, he suggested how the subject came to him before a wood fire in his room over a few portfolios of engravings and then led his reader out on a walk to Porta Furba to show him one of "the many Romes in Rome". For seventy pages he stuck to the task of molding his notes into a book, and then he apparently grew tired of it. The remainder of the book may be not unfairly characterized as a rather miscellaneous mass of excellent notes interspersed with interesting remarks. Many of these notes seem to be dropped into the text at hazard and entirely unchanged from the book or card where they were recorded. A marked instance is a sentence on page 277 without a verb.

This way of making a book produces a most baffling effect on the mind of the reader. If there were space, several causes of this might be pointed out. The chief one is the astonishing carelessness of the writer about the arrangement and the succession of his topics. For

instance, in the middle of a description of the frescos of the Vatican Library, he suddenly tumbles in five pages of notes on the following subjects: the physicians of Sixtus V.; the book one of them wrote; the introduction of tobacco into Italy; Italian quarantine; druggists of the times. Sixtus's laws against gambling, including an account of gambling on papal elections; astrology; some remarks about Roman food recorded by a Dutchman who visited Rome in 1588; ditto about the fact that women were not to be kissed in Italy as in Holland; the remarks of Bartolomeo Catena about shaving. Then the author suddenly returns to the frescos of the Vatican Library, and the reader wonders where he is.

Sixtine Rome is full of interesting things. But, when Mr. Orbaan writes his next book, and it is to be hoped that will be soon, he ought to feel sure before he begins, that the labor of turning notes into a book is as severe as the labor of collecting them, and, if he is to find the readers his learning and enthusiasm deserve, he must not shirk it. In spite of its defects this book will do for readers what the author hopes: "convert them from the opinion that, in Rome, there are only ruins and statues and the Renaissance, and nothing after it until Bernini".

PAUL VAN DYKE.

Nicolas Caussin, Confesseur de Louis XIII., et le Cardinal de Richelieu. Par le P. Camille de Rochemonteix, de la Compagnie de Jésus. (Paris, Picard, 1911, pp. xx, 447.) No one needs to be told that certain characteristics and tendencies of thought within the Church of Rome to-day are of deepest interest and importance. Their bearing upon Catholic historiography has been recently manifested in a number of notable works, *e. g.*, Denifle, *Luther und Lutherthum in der ersten Entwicklung*, and Fouqueray, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France*. The book of Father Camille de Rochemonteix is of the same class. In reading it one seems to be translated back into the days of the Holy League and the reactionism of the reign of Louis XIII. which Richelieu so resolutely combated.

The French Church in the first half of the seventeenth century has much to its credit, but it is the unfortunate characteristic of religious passion that it develops a Torquemada, as well as a St. Francis. Ideas, like the body, suffer from ailments which poison or pervert, and side by side with much that is good, French Catholicism of the seventeenth century developed abnormal moral and mental qualities. Richelieu is the storm-centre of these currents. The cardinal was not a Catholic in the sense of Rome and the Jesuits, nor a Gallican in the sense that the parlementarians and the University were; and his treatment of the Huguenots pleased neither Gallicans, Ultramontanes, or Huguenots. His policy consisted in holding the balance equal between all parties.

History has passed its verdict upon the general justice and statesmanship of Richelieu's ideas. Since the publication of his *Correspondance*, by M. Avenel, there is less reason than ever to doubt. But

modern Catholic obscurantism refuses so to interpret history. This history of the father-confessor of Louis XIII. is not a biography, but the history of an episode in his life extending from his appointment in 1637 to his disgrace in 1643. The author's thesis is that P. Caussin was the victim of the cardinal's malice and that the story told of his conduct, as sober historians have interpreted it, has "la force indestructible de la légende".

Besides the sources which everybody knows, the author has used the voluminous unpublished Latin correspondence of Caussin—letters "interminably long and pedantic" we are told, yet still exhaling "un parfum de sincérité vraie". The same implicit confidence is reposed in the *Mémoires* of Madame de Motteville, while the cardinal's *Mémoires* are overwhelmed with scorn and opprobrium. It is difficult for a lay—may I say an unprejudiced?—student of French history to read this work with patience. Marie de' Medici is a wronged woman throughout; Gaston of Orleans, whose intrigues shook the throne, is drawn in heroic lines; Richelieu's statesmanlike treatment of the Huguenots is violently censured; his foreign policy—the French alliance with Holland and Sweden—excoriated as "la ruine entière de la religion"; the estrangement between Louis XIII. and the queen is ascribed to the cardinal. Caussin is compared to Ambrose of Milan defying Theodosius and the admiration of the reader for the confessor's zeal, courage, and disinterestedness is assumed "sans doute".

J. W. T.

Rome et le Clergé Français sous la Constituante: La Constitution Civile du Clergé, L'Affaire d'Avignon. By Albert Mathiez, Professeur au Lycée Voltaire, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1911, pp. 533.) The aim of this book is to show that the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was not doomed from the beginning as ecclesiastically impossible. If the plan of reform proved to be a fertile source of dissension, the fault, to the mind of M. Mathiez, does not rest with the Constituents who made the law, but with the pope who eventually refused to allow the clergy to submit to its provisions, and who, meanwhile, maintained an equivocal silence. The cause of this silence M. Mathiez finds in the vicissitudes of the revolution in Avignon, a situation rendered peculiarly difficult by the danger of French intervention or of annexation.

M. Mathiez has renewed the study of a familiar subject by shifting the emphasis from the contrast between the terms of the law and ecclesiastical practice to the effort made by a large and influential group of prelates to "baptize" the Constitution, in other words, to make it canonically regular. The leaders of the group were the archbishops of Aix, Vienne, and Bordeaux, of whom the two last were members of the king's council. The Comte de Montmorin, minister of foreign affairs, sought to co-operate by acting on the pope, unfortunately through the medium of Cardinal Bernis, the French ambassa-

dor, who was hostile. If the pope consented, the means were simple. He might authorize the new circumscription of dioceses, and request the resignations of the bishops whose dioceses had been absorbed, or he might authorize them to delegate their canonical authority to their successors.

"Quel triomphe si on parvenait à obtenir de Rome elle-même la consécration de la réforme religieuse qui supprimait en France le pouvoir de Rome!" This remark of M. Mathiez, with a different application, reveals the futility of such efforts. It was not a genuine compromise that was asked of the pope, but a surrender. The Constituents plainly announced that they would make no concessions. Is it surprising that the pope did not simplify the task of his enemies by openly and immediately condemning the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and that he merely warned the king and the archbishops of the council privately that the enforcement of the law would lead France into schism?

M. Mathiez has succeeded in proving that a majority of the clergy was ready to acquiesce in the new arrangements and he has explained clearly the influence which the revolution at Avignon exercised on the course of events. This is an important service to the discussion of the subject. But he apparently fails to appreciate the humor of being indignant at the pope for not facilitating the ruin of his power, and his references to the writers in sympathy with the Church seem unnecessarily contemptuous.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Les Négociations de Lille (1797). Par Charles Ballot, Agrégé d'Histoire et Géographie. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne, tome III., fascicule II.] (Paris, Édouard Cornély et Compagnie, 1910, pp. 355.) In a bibliography of thirty-five pages, the author states the material from which he has drawn his account of the fruitless negotiations of Lille, an English-French negotiation for peace, occupying a few months in the summer of 1797. His researches have been extraordinary, including not only all the documentary evidence in the British and French archives, but every available printed work. The result is an extreme illustration of minute historical investigation. There is, however, a larger aspect to this particular study. Some six or seven years ago French historical critics began to question the accuracy of Sorel's great work, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, in its presentation of English diplomacy and international policy. Sorel's thesis was that at no time did Pitt sincerely desire peace, and that never was he ready to consent by treaty to a French acquisition of the Austrian Netherlands. Mr. Ballot does not, indeed, make Sorel's error the theme of his book, but that error gave the opportunity for producing conclusive proof of England's anxiety for peace in 1797, and her readiness to make almost any sacrifices, provided only she retained some portion of her colonial conquests from the allies of France.

No brief review can indicate the points elucidated in the author's

analysis. Every step of the negotiation, whether at Lille, at London, or at Paris, is described in detail, with pertinent quotations from diplomatic correspondence, newspaper comment, legislative debates, and private letters. The controversy within the English cabinet, between the factions of Grenville and of Pitt, is made clear (though with less credit to the influence of Grenville than the reviewer thinks justified), while much new light is thrown on a similar conflict being waged in the French Directory. It is of interest that one of the documents upon which Mr. Ballot places greatest emphasis—which is, indeed, the keystone of his thesis as to English intentions at Lille—was printed in the REVIEW for July, 1905, as the best possible evidence of the error in Sorel's conclusions. This document, with many others, is given in French translation in the present work. The author should have been content with translation, for, while there are not many English quotations, nearly every one contains some absurd error—such as “egger” and “shrinking” (p. 142) for “eager” and “shrinking”. This is the more regrettable since the work as a whole is an excellent example of scholarly historical investigation in a minute field.

E. D. ADAMS.

Paris sous Napoléon: Le Théâtre-Français. Par L. de Lanza de Laborie. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1911, pp. iv, 334.) This volume maintains fully the high standard of its six predecessors in the series which have been reviewed in this journal (XIV. 127-131, 581-583; XV. 860-861). Only the Théâtre Français and, in a single chapter, the Théâtre de l'Impératrice (Odéon), are dealt with in this volume, the other theatres and the operas being left for later treatment. The admirable documentation is continued in the use of a wealth of material from the Archives Nationales, the archives of the Comédie-Française, Aulard's *Paris sous le Consulat*, Laugier's *Documents Historiques sur la Comédie-Française*, and Napoleon's *Correspondance*. Geoffroy's feuilletons in the *Journal des Débats* (after 1805, *Journal de l'Empire*) and Stendhal's private *Journal* yield many interesting criticisms and anecdotes of plays and players. The memoirs of Madame de Rémusat, whose husband was “surintendant des spectacles”; of Legouvé, whose uncle, Mahérault, was “commissaire du gouvernement près le Théâtre de la République”; of Mademoiselle George, the actress; the numerous volumes of Masson; and De Manne's *La Troupe de Talma*, are the most important of the many other writings cited.

In life, both real and mimic, tragedy held sway; in the one Bonaparte was the self-conscious master, in the other, Talma. Not infrequently the Parisian was more absorbed in the rivalries of the queens of tragedy, Mesdemoiselles George and Duchesnois, than in the rivalries of Napoleon and Alexander. Lafon, Monvel, Madame Talma, Mesdemoiselles Bourgoin, Raucourt, and Volnais, in tragedy; and in comedy Molé, Fleury, Dazincourt, Dugazon, Mesdemoiselles Contat, Leverd, and Mars (daughter of Monvel), are the other members of the

troupe selected for special accounts. Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire; Molière, Marivaux, and Beaumarchais continued to furnish a large proportion of the repertoire. Shakespeare's *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet* were warped into French by Ducis for occasional use. Lafosse's *Manlius* furnished Talma his favorite rôle. Novelties were few, and rarely did one please both the imperial and the popular taste. Raynouard's *Templiers* (1805) was perhaps the most successful tragedy, and Étienne's *Deux Gendres* (1810) was certainly the only comedy of any merit to succeed. The troupe were summoned not only to furnish court performances at the Tuileries, Saint-Cloud, Fontainebleau, and Compiègne, but also to furnish suitable accompaniment for great affairs of state at Lyons in 1802; Brussels, 1803; Mayence, 1804; Erfurt, 1808; and Dresden, 1813. There is also some account of the building, the organization, the finances, the audience, and the governmental supervision of the Comédie. Certain administrative decrees, including the famous decree of Moscow, which are dismissed with passing mentions, should have been printed as appendices. When the final volume of this valuable work is published, we beseech the author to include an index of the whole series.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Lady John Russell: a Memoir, with Selections from her Diaries and Correspondence. Edited by Desmond MacCarthy and Agatha Russell. (New York, John Lane Company, 1911, pp. xi, 325.) On at least three good grounds a most cordial welcome is assured for the excellently edited memoir of Lady John Russell. Lady Russell's letters and diaries constitute the larger part of the volume. They supplement to an appreciable degree Spencer Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell* which was published in 1891, and also to a less degree Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, and they carry some of the correspondence of Queen Victoria beyond 1861, the year at which it stops in Mr. A. C. Benson and Viscount Esher's *Letters of Queen Victoria*. This is one of the grounds on which students of English politics in the nineteenth century will welcome the Russell memoir. A second ground on which a wider welcome will be given lies in the personality of Lady John Russell—surely one of the strongest and most lovable women ever behind the scene in English nineteenth-century politics; while a third ground for welcome lies in the charm and literary value of the letters themselves—letters which for a generation to come are likely to be read by men and women all over the Anglo-Saxon world who are indifferent to Lord John Russell's place in English history and care nothing for the cause of political and religious freedom to which his public life was so long devoted. Lady John Russell, who was of the Elliots of Minto, and consequently a Scotchwoman, was born in 1815. She was Russell's second wife. The marriage was in July, 1841. The correspondence and diaries—at least such as have political value—accordingly begin in 1841, when Russell was one of the members for the City of London, and

Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Melbourne administration of 1835-1841. Russell, who survived until 1878, retired in 1866. But the letters and fragmentary diaries continue until near the time of Lady Russell's death in 1898. Those of the years after 1866—especially those of 1870, when the Forster Education Act was before Parliament—are of value as showing the intensity to the last of Russell's convictions with regard to religious equality, and also for the insight they give into conditions at the time of the Liberal split over Home Rule in 1886, and at the second crisis in the history of the Home Rule Liberal party in November, 1890, due to Parnell's appearance in the divorce court. The letters will enhance Russell's fame, which seemed to suffer a little in the light of Queen Victoria's letters from 1837 to 1861. Moreover they have the unique distinction of being the only volume of letters from within the household of a nineteenth-century prime minister.

E. P.

Historical and Political Essays. By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. (London and New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1910, pp. 296. New edition.) The essays contained in this little volume have all appeared in the form of public addresses or as magazine articles. The "Thoughts on History" appeared originally as "The Art of Writing History" in the *Forum*; "Formative Influences", a sketch of the men and books that most influenced Mr. Lecky in early life, "Madame de Stael", a review of Lady Blennerhassett's *Life of Madame de Stael*, "Israel among the Nations", a review of Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu's book of that title, and "Old Age Pensions", appeared likewise in the *Forum*. "Ireland in the Light of History" originally appeared in the *North American Review*, and the essays on Peel, Henry Reeve, and Dean Milman in the *Edinburgh*; the "Queen Victoria" in the *Pall Mall*, and "Carlyle's Message" in the *Contemporary*. The "Political Value of History" and "The Empire" were delivered as addresses, while the essay on the Earl of Derby was written as an introduction to the *Letters and Speeches* of that statesman. Before his death Mr. Lecky began to revise those of his occasional addresses and essays which he considered worthy of publication in book form; only four of the essays in the present volume, however, were revised by his hand. The volume illustrates Mr. Lecky's intellectual characteristics and embodies his well-known views. Judicious and moderate, he avoided all extremes; practical and empirical in his point of view, he had a strong distaste for all hard and fast theories; at once conservative and liberal, he feared democracy, detested the demagogue, and had a genuine contempt for the extravagance and low moral tone of modern plutocratic society; appreciating intellectual power, he yet felt that strong moral qualities were of much higher value. It is characteristic, therefore, that he takes middle ground, in his essay on "History", between extreme theories, such as those of Buckle on the

one hand and those of Carlyle on the other. Of Carlyle's insistence on character and moral worth he has, nevertheless, a very keen appreciation, and he writes with the greatest sympathy of such strong, simple, lovable men as Reeve and Milman, and such morally inflexible and upright men as Peel. The essay on "History" is the least able of any of the essays, presenting for the most part only the more commonplace maxims. The "Formative Influences" is perhaps the most interesting, the essay on Peel the most important for the historian, while those which were written, we suspect, most gladly, which are at least most effectively written, are the sympathetic appreciations of Henry Reeve, Dean Milman, and Queen Victoria.

CARL BECKER.

Public Ownership of Telephones on the Continent of Europe. By A. N. Holcombe, Ph.D., Instructor in Government in Harvard University. [Harvard Economic Studies, volume VI.] (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911, pp. xx, 482.) This is the sixth volume in the *Harvard Economic Studies*. It gives a detailed history of the development and administration of the telephone business in Germany, Switzerland, and France; and presents a brief account of the service in Belgium, Holland, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Spain. The policy of all European countries towards the telephone having been largely influenced by the government ownership of the telegraph, the introductory chapter of Dr. Holcombe's book is upon the Origin of the European State Telegraphs. Two-fifths of the volume is devoted to the German telephone service; another two-fifths to Switzerland and France; the other countries are summarily considered in two chapters; and the last three chapters of the book are concerned with Comparative Telephone Development, and the Economy of Public Ownership.

The method of treatment, in the case of each country, is to give a history of the origin and development of the service, and then to explain and estimate the rate-policy. The sections dealing with Germany, Switzerland, and France each end with a chapter upon the labor situation in the telephone service. Comparisons of European countries with each other and with the United States are reserved to the concluding chapters of the volume.

The book is replete with information concisely and ably presented. Only a few of the author's generalizations and conclusions may be referred to in this brief review. "The only European countries of importance in which the public authorities have not yet engaged in the telephone exchange business are Denmark and Spain." "Underlying all the diverse arguments and local events that led to public ownership in these countries . . . was the ownership of the telegraphs by the government. No country was able to retain the possession of its telegraph system, and at the same time leave the telephone in alien hands. . . . It was compelled to acquire the telephone." The author, however,

does not assert that the experience of Europe is conclusive in favor of government ownership and operation of telephones. "The historical truth is that the policy of private ownership under public regulation never had a fair trial."

Dr. Holcombe finds that "The greatest European telephone system, and on the whole, when all the circumstances are taken into consideration, the best, is that of Germany"; but "It is to Switzerland that we must turn for the most smoothly-working public business organization". The budgetary system of France and the frequent changes in the cabinet have proven a handicap to the development of the state telephone service in that country.

The volume is a thoroughly commendable work. The author has a good grasp, not only of the details of his subject, but also of the workings of political institutions and of the literature of economics; his judgments are conservative and sane, and the book gives a clear and reliable account of the results of government administration of an important public utility.

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

The American Year Book: a Record of Events and Progress, 1910. Edited by S. N. D. North, LL.D. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1911, pp. xx, 867.) This publication is the first volume in what is expected to be an annual series. It has been awaited with interest and some eagerness. The promises made by the men who projected it have been fulfilled. Another useful and trustworthy book of reference has been made for which space will easily be found on a convenient shelf. This *Year Book* will undertake to be "a record of events and progress". It is intended for the needs of writers and searchers of every kind. In his work as editor Dr. S. N. D. North has been under the direction of a supervisory board representing national and learned societies. The members of the executive committee of this supervisory board are: Albert Bushnell Hart, chairman; William M. Davis, Hastings Hornell Hart, George H. Kirchwey, Alexander Lambert, Calvin W. Rice, and John C. Rolfe.

The book is arranged in nine great divisions relating to Comparative Statistics, History and Law, Government and Administration, Functions of Government, Economic and Social Questions, Industries and Occupations, Science and Engineering, the Humanities, and Current Record. There are ninety-two contributors to the present volume, all of whom may properly be considered experts in their subjects.

In the section devoted to history Professor Albert Bushnell Hart has successfully carried out his declared resolve to "seize upon the fugitive events of the last twelve months, group them together, show what were the publicly expressed motives of statesmen, point out the directions in which public sentiment is moving, and put into form for reference, and later comparison year by year, the most important political and governmental incidents". His verdict after reviewing the

record of a year's participation of the President in the life of the people is that "President Taft has attempted to combine the functions of administration, legislation, party chieftain, and man of the people". More space properly might have been devoted to Governor Wilson's campaign for election in New Jersey.

Marcus Benjamin reviews the year of current political history in Great Britain, and Dr. North does the same service for the British dependencies. Albert Hale writes a brief review of Latin America. Under the subdivision, International Relations, Dr. James Brown Scott reviews the growth of internationalism, and in another article sums up the events of 1910 in Japan that have a distinctly international character.

Each department in the *Year Book* is supplemented by a brief bibliography of the subject. No errors of fact or important omissions have been noted. One wishes that the editors might have felt that they had sufficient space to write President Taft, Senator Lodge, Secretary Knox, etc., rather than Pres. Taft, Sen. Lodge, Sec. Knox. How completely the events of 1910 have been covered in this volume may be judged by the record of the Carnegie Peace Fund and its trustees, which was not announced until the middle of December of that year. What marks of hasty compilation the book necessarily bears do not mar its value.

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume XII. (Boston, the Society, 1911, pp. xix, 458.) This volume contains the transactions of the society at the meetings of the two years 1908 and 1909. It has the usual handsome exterior, with portraits of several deceased members, of whom memoirs are included in the volume, and with other well executed illustrations, mostly either portraits or facsimiles. The most important papers are the following: by Mr. Andrew McF. Davis on John Harvard's Life in America, a dissertation on the social and political life of New England in the years 1637 and 1638, and on Hints of Contemporary Life in the Writings of Thomas Shepard; by Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin on the Secession of Springfield from Connecticut; by Mr. Horace E. Ware on Winthrop's Course across the Atlantic, on the Kirke incident in that voyage, and on a Forgotten Prime Meridian, namely, that of the island of St. Michael in the Azores, chosen because of supposed identity with the agonic line; and by Professor Charles E. Park on Excommunication in Colonial Churches.

Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1727-1734, 1736-1740. Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. (Richmond, 1910, pp. xxxiii, 467.) On May 20, 1732, the House of Burgesses of Virginia "Ordered, That Mr. William Parks have Leave to print the Votes and Proceedings [i. e., journals] of this House". Accordingly six of the eight sessions whose journals are given in this volume are represented already by printed journals, while the journals of the sessions of 1727 and 1730

have had to be copied from the manuscripts of the Public Record Office in London. But the printed journals of 1732 and 1734, and those of the new House of Burgesses which sat in 1736, 1738, May, 1740, and August, 1740, are excessively rare (a single copy existing in the case of five of them and only two copies of the other), and their final preservation by reprinting is quite as much an occasion for gratitude as the printing of any manuscript journal. The printing has been done in the same beautiful fashion as the preceding volumes, those for 1742-1776, and Mr. McIlwaine's editing is of the same scrupulous and competent character. Apropos of his remarks on the committee for courts of justice (p. xv), the present writer expects that examples earlier than 1727 will be found, since a committee of that name and character was a constant institution of the House of Commons from 1621 on, except for the period from 1640 to 1660, and the Virginian scheme of standing committees imitated closely that of the Commons.

Governor Gooch's administration had many of the merits of his contemporary Walpole's. Next to the governor's, the leading influence in public affairs was that of the speaker. John Holloway was succeeded as speaker in 1734 by Sir John Randolph, Randolph in 1738 by the unhappy John Robinson. The passage of the tobacco acts is the most important matter of business, the settlement of election cases and questions of privilege makes the most interesting reading. Very interesting, however, is the petition of the Burgesses in 1730 to the King in Council on the subject of grants and tenures in the Northern Neck (pp. 92-96); it presents a valuable summary of the history of an involved matter. Other exceptionally interesting matters are the passage in 1730 of the act exempting the German Protestants of Stafford County from the payment of parish levies, because they already supported a German minister—a beginning of toleration; the passage of militia acts and of acts for the benefit of the College of William and Mary; and in 1736 the enactment of a law making more precise the qualifications for the suffrage, the need of which had been made manifest by the devious courses pursued in many elections.

The Siege of Boston. By Allen French. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1911, pp. xi, 450.) The author's object as stated in the preface is "to produce a brief and readable account of the Siege of Boston" . . . "to treat the subject as a single organic series of events". He acknowledges his obligation to Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, and says that his indebtedness to other authorities is recognized in the foot-notes. Turning to the notes one finds the histories by Bancroft, Avery, Lodge, Trevelyan, Stedman, Sabine, and Wells, and the *Memoorial History of Boston*. Beyond these and a half-dozen diaries, there is nothing. His researches have brought him little save "base authority from others' books"—secondary books for the most part. There are very few new things to be found in the volume, and no new point of view. The language is smooth and moves easily on, but one may

"praise an eel with the same praise". The author has not even successfully emulated Macaulay, making his history take the place of the last novel on my lady's table. The style is merely readable, no more.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

The Works of James Buchanan, comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence. Collected and edited by John Bassett Moore. Volume XII. *Biographical*. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1911, pp. xviii, 479.) Rather more than half of this, the concluding volume of Buchanan's writings, is filled with the *apologia* entitled *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion*, published in 1866. Besides this we have an autobiographical sketch for 1791-1828; the first part of the oration of July 4, 1815, found after the publication of the latter portion in volume I.; a biographical sketch by J. Buchanan Henry; and a paper reviewing the *Administration* book, by W. U. Hensel.

Buchanan's elaborate defence of his administration, withheld from immediate publication, he tells us, in order that he might not seem to embarrass Lincoln, has hardly received from historians the attention which it deserves. A perusal of it fifty years after the event does not, indeed, alter greatly the general verdict which has been rendered upon his course; but it at least makes his position clearer. Buchanan was no friend to slavery as an institution; but believing, as he did, that slavery was "imbedded in the Constitution", he opposed consistently and uncompromisingly every attempt to interfere with it. Throughout his public life he cherished bitter hostility to the Abolitionists, and puts his arraignment of them in the forefront of his apology. On the other hand, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the Kansas-Nebraska Act called out his condemnation, though as chief magistrate he found little to object to in the conduct of the pro-slavery government in Kansas. His course during the winter of 1860-1861, when he showed himself to be of the strictest sect of strict constructionists, should have surprised no one; being, as it was, of a piece with his public attitude from the beginning. He makes the most of Greeley's repeated public admission of the propriety of secession; and his criticism of Congress for its deliberate and culpable negligence in failing to make provision for strengthening the hands of the President, or putting the federal government in a position to maintain the Union or deal with rebellion, is a solid argument in his own justification. It is worth remembering that when Lincoln took the law into his own hands, in the spring and early summer of 1861, Congress was not in session, while Buchanan, with Congress sitting, could plead no such exigency as his authority. That Buchanan possessed either the intellectual or the moral qualities needed to deal with so great an upheaval as the Civil War, nothing in the whole twelve volumes of his writings tends to show; but the responsibility for the mistakes of the winter of 1860-1861 must be borne by Congress as well as by him.

Of the scholarly editorial work of this sumptuous edition one can speak only in praise. The index, admirably full, has been made by Jacob H. Goetz.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

Memorias del Coronel Manuel María Giménez, Ayudante de Campo del General Santa Anna, 1798-1878. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by Genaro García, tomo XXXIV.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1911, pp. 286.) Giménez was born at Cadiz in 1798, was sent to a military college when thirteen years of age, and before completing his studies received the "baptism of fire" in a battle against Soult. In 1818 he went to Mexico as a military engineer, and from that date lived an active and checkered life for about half a century, serving all sorts of governments from that of Spain to that of Maximilian. Though brave he seems to have been better qualified for business than for war, and apparently he was too honest, too faithful, and too little gifted as a politician for success in civil public affairs. His Memoirs might have been precious but are in fact only valuable. He did not begin to write until 1863, and seems to have relied almost wholly on his memory for the period before that date. Besides, he took pains to avoid giving offense (p. 125), and with such a rule one could not go far below the surface in describing the recent events. What we have, therefore, is an interesting personal sketch throwing light upon some matters of no little public importance. Giménez began to serve Santa Anna as aide-de-camp at the time of the French war, 1838. After that he was almost always near him whenever the general figured in Mexico, wrote against his enemies, dedicated these Memoirs to him, and counted among the very few who stood by him to the end in spite of the blindness, poverty, and obscurity of the ex-dictator's last years. To his mind Santa Anna was a brave, great, and noble man, even though capable of ordering his innocent aide-de-camp banished from the capital as a scapegoat and pretending to know nothing about the affair (pp. 83, 85). This opinion should remind us to view the general with careful regard to the circumstances of the time and the character and capacity of the persons around him; but apparently Giménez was not admitted into all the recesses of his master's thought, and besides entertaining a sense of gratitude was one to be dazzled by Santa Anna's brilliancy no less than by Maximilian's affability and "august person" (pp. 161-163). To American scholars the Memoirs will have special interest on account of their statements with reference to our war against Mexico (pp. 96-115, 263-267). As one illustration, the author says (p. 100) that great numbers of Santa Anna's troops, not accustomed to carry rations, threw aside on their way to the battlefield of Buena Vista the sacks of food with which they had been provided; and as another he gives us more information than perhaps any one else regarding the plan to overthrow Santa Anna that was formed at Mexico soon after the battle of Cerro Gordo (pp. 108-111).

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

NOTES AND NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The manuscript of volume I. of the *Annual Report* for 1910 has been sent to the Government Printing Office. The second volume, consisting of correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens and Howell Cobb, edited by Professor U. B. Phillips for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, is nearly ready. The *Annual Report* for 1909 has been read in page proof. The second volume of that for 1908 will shortly be issued, bound in two parts.

The association's *Handbook* has been issued to the members. The list of names of members is now accompanied by indications of their special lines of interest.

Both the Adams prize essay for 1909, Dr. Notestein's *History of English Witchcraft*, and the Winsor prize essay for 1910, Professor E. R. Turner's *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, are now in press and will be distributed to subscribers in the autumn.

The *Report of the Committee of Five* upon history in secondary schools, of the nature of a review of the *Report of the Committee of Seven*, published in 1899, has now been issued by the Macmillan Company in the form of a small book of 69 pages.

In the *Original Narratives* series Messrs. Scribner expect to issue in the autumn *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, Delaware, and West Jersey*, edited by Dr. Albert Cook Myers. The next volume will be the *Journal of Dankers and Shuyter*, in revised translation, edited by Rev. B. B. James of Baltimore.

By typographical error the name of Miss Lucy M. Salmon, professor in Vassar College, was omitted from the list of the General Committee on page 475 of the last number of this journal. To the Committee upon the Certification of High School Teachers of History the name of Superintendent Charles E. Chadsey should now be added.

PERSONAL

Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson died at Cambridge on May 9 at the age of 87. His historical books for young people, his *Larger History of the United States* (1885), his *English History for Americans* (1893), his *Massachusetts in the Army and Navy, 1861-1865* (1895, 1896), and his *Life of Stephen Higginson* (1907), were the only professed historical books in his long series of literary publications; but perhaps quite as important to history as any of them was his *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (1869), which chronicled the unique and stirring experiences of his colonelcy.

Professor Frederick W. Moore of Vanderbilt University died at Denver in the latter part of April, at the age of forty-seven. He had been connected with the faculty of Vanderbilt University since 1892, and had been a useful and influential teacher and an interested investigator of many problems in Southern history.

Professors Henry E. Bourne, Frank H. Hodder, Albert B. White, and Carlton H. Hayes will teach during the summer sessions at the University of Chicago, Professors John S. Bassett and Edward B. Krehbiel and Dr. James Sullivan at Columbia University, and Professor James W. Thompson at the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. William E. Lunt of Wisconsin has been appointed professor of history and political science at Bowdoin College, to which Mr. O. C. Hormell of Clark College goes as assistant professor.

Mr. H. W. V. Temperley of Peterhouse, Cambridge, will lecture at Harvard University on modern English history during the first half of the coming academic year.

Dr. Sydney Knox Mitchell has been promoted to an assistant professorship of history in Yale University.

Dr. Robert Livingston Schuyler has been appointed an assistant professor in the department of history at Columbia University.

At the University of Michigan the two departments of history have been united under the headship of Professor Van Tyne. Professor Ulrich B. Phillips has been called to the professorship vacated by Professor Paxson a year ago, and Dr. Edward R. Turner of Bryn Mawr College has been elected a professor of history to take the place made vacant by the retirement of Professor Richard Hudson. Dr. A. L. Cross has been advanced from a junior professorship to a professorship of English history.

Mrs. Lois Kimball Mathews of Wellesley College has been elected associate professor of American history and dean of women at the University of Wisconsin.

Professor St. George L. Sioussat has accepted a call from the University of the South to Vanderbilt University to take the chair of history made vacant by the death of Professor Frederick W. Moore.

Professor Edgar E. Robinson of Carleton College has been elected assistant professor of history at Stanford University.

GENERAL

Accounts of the proceedings of the Seventeenth International Congress of Americanists, held in two sessions, at Buenos Aires in May and at the City of Mexico in September, 1910, were published in the *American Anthropologist* for October-December. The eighteenth congress will be held in London in September, 1912.

A New School Atlas of Modern History, by Professor Ramsay Muir of the University of Liverpool (New York, Holt, 1911, pp. xxiv, 48 plates) surpasses any other school atlas of historical geography we remember to have seen in the extent to which it manages, without obscuring any culture-details, to present along with them the physical features of the lands depicted. Besides 48 excellent photolithographic plates, containing 120 colored maps, there is a fair amount of letterpress, in which 29 zinc-engraved maps, chiefly of battles, are imbedded. America has four of the large plates, correct in almost all essentials. Great Britain is most fully treated. A larger edition, with more maps and index, is being prepared for the use of more advanced pupils.

A Catalogue of the Collection of Historical Material, New England History Teachers' Association, has been prepared by the committee upon historical material, Professor Arthur I. Andrews chairman, assisted by the senior class in library science of Simmons College, and issued in a pamphlet of 37 pages. The catalogue is also printed in the issues of the *History Teachers' Magazine* for April and May.

The History Teachers' Magazine for May contains a full statement of history courses in the summer schools of American universities and colleges this season.

Professor John Nichol, late of the University of Glasgow, has issued a fifth, revised edition of his *Tables of European History, Literature, and Art, A. D. 200-1909, and of American History, Literature, and Art*.

Moffat, Yard and Company, of New York, have published a translation of Max Nordau's recent book, under the title *The Interpretation of History*. The translator is M. A. Hamilton.

The management of the *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* has issued as an appendix to IX. 1, 2, a *Bibliographie der Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte für 1910, Juli-September*.

The Columbia University Press will shortly publish *Social Evolution and Political Theory*, by Leonard T. Hobhouse.

The *Revue du Mois* of April 10 contains an interesting discussion by Charles Salamon and Gustave Lanson of "la Méthode en Histoire Littéraire".

Professor James G. Frazer of Liverpool, in his *Totemism and Exogamy* (London and New York, Macmillan, four volumes, 1910) makes almost as notable a contribution to the interpretation of early superstition and the understanding of early society as was made twenty years ago by his publication of *The Golden Bough*.

The American Economic Review, the new quarterly journal of the American Economic Association, edited by Professor Davis R. Dewey, made its beginning with the number for March, 1911. More comprehensive in its plan than any preceding American economic journal, and prepared with unusual completeness and finish, it will, we are sure, commend itself as useful in many ways to historical workers.

In an article in *Science* for April 14, 1911, Dr. Frederick A. Woods continues his studies in "historiometry", to use the convenient term coined by him. He studies degrees of eminence as measured by the attention paid to particular persons in compendious works of biography and criticism, and by tabulation of the adjectives employed in such articles. He urges also that the space method and the adjective method can be applied to the estimation of some historical events.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for April contains an extensive list of books relating to Muhammadanism.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Levasseur, *La Place de l'Histoire des Faits Économiques* (*Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement*, LXI. 2); J. Kaerst, *Studien zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Universalgeschichtlichen Anschauung*, I. (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CVI. 3).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The Scribners have brought out *Biblical Geography and History*, by Professor Charles Foster Kent of Yale.

In his *Palestine and its Transformation* (Houghton Mifflin Company) Mr. Ellsworth Huntington aims in particular to show the influence which geography and climatic conditions had in the development of Jewish social characteristics and consequently in preparing the way for the teachings of Christ.

Under the inspiration of Professor Ulrich Wilcken of Leipzig his pupil Dr. Kurt Fitzler has published a study of the mines and quarries of Egypt under the Ptolemies and the Roman Empire. The monograph of 158 pages includes a thorough discussion of all the types of stone and metal quarried in Egypt; the method of lease employed by the government, which is similar to that used in the case of the dams and water-rights; the labor employed; the official bureau concerned in the management of the mines; and the methods of transport of the ores and stone. There is also a short digression upon the leasing of water-rights for irrigation. The study is called *Steinbrüche und Bergwerke im Ptolemäischen und Römischen Aegypten*, and appears in the *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen*, published by Quelle and Meyer (Leipzig, 1910).

Fascicule 44 of the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, published by Hachette and edited by MM. Saglio and Pottier (t. IV., pt. 2, pp. 1297-1456), goes from "Sibyllae" to "Sporta", and is accompanied by a "table méthodique provisoire" for the letters A to O.

The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome, in two volumes, by Coleman Phillipson, of the Inner Temple, bears the imprint of Macmillan.

Dr. Barclay V. Head's *Historia Numorum*, the standard manual of Greek numismatics, published in 1887, has now been brought out in a new and much enlarged edition taking account of the progress of the last twenty-four years in that study.

The interesting excavations carried on at Sparta in 1909, by the British School at Athens, are described in detail (pp. 157) in the *Annual of the School*, XV., with many figures.

The Cambridge University Press has published in the "Cambridge Archaeological and Ethnological Series" a study by F. W. Hasluck, fellow of King's College, Cambridge, entitled, *Cyzicus: Being some Account of the History and Antiquities of that City, and of the District adjacent to it, with the Towns of Apollonia*, etc. The author proceeds on the basis not only of the sources but of a careful examination of the territory, and aims to describe alike the ancient and the modern conditions. Cyzicus and Cyzicene institutions are dealt with in more detail, largely from the inscriptions.

The Oxford Press announces *Essays on Roman History*, by the late Professor H. F. Pelham, collected and edited by F. Haverfield.

Otto Petters, Heidelberg, has issued part XXXIII. of *Der obergermanischchrätische Limes des Römerreiches*; it is devoted to the camp of Stockstadt.

Frowde, London, publishes *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century, with a revised Text of the Kletotologion of Philotheos*, by J. B. Bury. The publication is no. 1 of *The British Academy Supplemental Papers*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Cavaignac, *Les Classes Soloniennes et la Répartition de la Richesse à Athenes* (Vierteljahrsschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, IX. 12); P. Wendland, *Beiträge zu Athenischer Politik und Publizistik des vierten Jahrhunderts*, II. *Isokrates und Demosthenes* (Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., 1910, 4); G. Bloch, *La Plèbe Romaine*, II. (Revue Historique, May-June); Guglielmo Ferrero, *The Women of the Caesars: Introductory, Woman and Marriage in Ancient Rome* (Century, May); Otto Th. Schulz, *Ueber die wirtschaftlichen und politischen Verhältnisse bei den Germanen zur Zeit des C. Julius Caesar* (Klio, XI. 1).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The Bollandist fathers have now brought out the third November volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* (Brussels, 1910, pp. vii, 1000), dealing with the saints of November 5, 6, 7, and 8. The second volume appeared in 1894.

The *Manuel d'Archéologie Chrétienne depuis les Origines jusqu'au VIII^e Siècle*, prepared by Dom H. Leclercq of Farnborough Abbey and published in Paris by Letouzey and Ané (two volumes, pp. 600, 670) with many excellent illustrations, is an authoritative survey, beginning with the study of Jewish, Mithraic, and classical influences on early Christian art, and setting forth with scholarly text and abundant references the development of Christian architecture, painting, sculpture, and minor arts.

By the combination of good psychology with good exegesis, M. Émile Lombard, in a treatise *De la Glossolalie chez les premiers Chrétiens et des Phénomènes Similaires* (Lausanne, Bridel, 1910, pp. xii, 254), places these striking phenomena of the apostolic age in their proper setting of comparison and explanation.

The Origin and Development of the Christian Church in Gaul during the First Six Centuries of the Christian Era (New York, Macmillan), by Canon T. Scott Holmes, D.D., is the Birkbeck lectures for 1907 and 1908 in Trinity College, Cambridge. The narrative is brought down to the conversion of the Franks and the work aims to subject the legends of the period of evangelization to exhaustive criticism.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. de Faye, *De la Formation d'une Doctrine Chrétienne de Dieu au II^e Siècle* (Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, January-February).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

A society has been formed recently at Paris for the photographic reproduction of the most important medieval manuscripts, especially those noteworthy for pictorial adornment. The first undertaking will be the entire reproduction of a *Bible Moralisée* of the thirteenth century, adorned with 5000 medallions of scenes from the Scriptures.

The Macmillan Company has recently published *A History of Education during the Middle Ages and the Transition to Modern Times*, by Frank Pierrepont Graves of Ohio State University. It is a continuation of the author's *History of Education before the Middle Ages*.

Chatto and Windus have published in the series "The King's Classics", edited by Professor I. Gollancz, *The English Correspondence of Saint Boniface*, containing the letters exchanged between the Apostle of the Germans and his English friends, translated and edited by Edward Kyrle.

Heft 22 of the *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen* is Dr. Walther Müller's *Zur Frage des Ursprungs der mittelalterlichen Zünfte: Eine wirtschafts- und verfassungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1911, pp. 92). The essay is the author's doctoral dissertation at the University of Leipzig, the investigation being pursued under the direction of Professors Seeliger and Doren. It aims to throw light on the origins not only of the *Zünfte* but of the medieval *Stadtverfassung*, especially with reference to the relations of these developments to medieval *Grundherrschaft*.

Recent additions to the *Medieval Town Series* (London, J. M. Dent and Sons) are *Lucca* by Janet Ross, and *Avignon* by Thomas Okey.

Heft 152 of Schmoller and Sering's *Staats- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1910, pp. ix, 236) is *Der Geldhandel der deutschen Juden während des Mittelalters bis zum*

Jahre 1350, by Moses Hoffmann. It seems to be of unusual interest from the fact that it represents the first adequate effort to utilize on this subject material in the Hebrew tongue. Of interest also in this field is the recent publication of W. Sombart, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1911).

Dr. Peter Wolff's dissertation on *Der Briefsteller des Thymo von Erfurt und seine Ableitungen* (Bonn, 1911) contains not only a careful analysis of the unpublished formulary of Thymo but an investigation of other related collections of the fourteenth century. Dr. Wolff makes much freer use of manuscript material than is usual in German doctoral dissertations.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Allard, *Les Origines du Servage*, II. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April); S. Rietschel, *Die Münzrechnung der Lex Salica* (*Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, IX. 12); G. Falco, *I Preliminari della Pace di S. Germano, Novembre 1229-Luglio 1230* (*Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, XXXIII. 3-4); F. Van Ortroy, *Pierre Ferrand O. P. et les premiers Biographes de S. Dominique* (*Analecta Bollandiana*, XXX. 1).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Mgr. N. Paulus has gathered together in a volume, *Hexenwahn und Hexenprozess vornehmlich im 16. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1910, pp. 283) a number of interesting and solid studies in the history of witchcraft. One is devoted to Geiler of Kaisersberg, several to the ideas and conduct in respect to sorcery of Luther and the Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Calvinists, one to the supposed pre-eminence of woman in witchcraft, two to the history of witchcraft in the milder atmosphere of Rome.

Mr. B. J. Kidd's *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (Oxford University Press, 1911, pp. 764) is a collection of a sort to be welcomed by many teachers.

Father Pierre Suau's *Histoire de S. François de Borgia* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1910, pp. 592) takes rank immediately as the chief life of the third general of the Jesuits.

Students of the history of the Council of Trent will be grateful for volume XVIII., fasc. 5, of the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques* (pp. 364), in which M. G. Constant studies and lists the documents in the Vienna Staatsarchiv and in the archives of Simancas concerning the diplomatic history of the Council under Pius IV., and especially its relations with France.

Heft 25 of the *Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte* (G. v. Below, H. Finke, F. Meinecke) is Dr. A. F. Raif's *Die Urteil der Deutschen über die Französische Nationalität im Zeitalter der Revolution und der deutschen Erhebung* (pp. vii, 150).

Professor K. Th. Heigel's excellent little *Politische Hauptströmungen in Europa im 19. Jahrhundert* and Professor Th. Bitterauf's *Napoleon I.* have both advanced to second editions (Leipzig, Teubner).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. C. Diferee, *Die Oekonomische Verwicklung zwischen England und den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, IX. 12); A. Auzoux, *Une Campagne sur les Côtes de l'Inde au Début de la Révolution, 1791-1792* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); G. K. Anton, *Leopold II. und die Entwicklung des Kongostaates: Ein historisch-psychologischer Versuch* (Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, XXXV. 1).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Messrs. Constable announce ten or twelve new volumes in the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* for 1911, including the fourth and fifth (final) volumes of Hampshire, the third and fourth (final) of Surrey, the fourth, fifth, and sixth (final) of Lancashire, the third of Bedfordshire, the second of Somerset, and the second of Yorkshire.

New historical books announced for the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature* are: *An Historical Account of the Rise and Development of Presbyterianism in Scotland*, by Lord Balfour of Burleigh; *The Dominion of New Zealand*, by Sir R. Stout, chief justice of New Zealand; *King Arthur in History and Legend*, by Professor W. Lewis Jones; and *Life in the Medieval Universities*, by R. S. Tait. In connection with the tercentenary of the Authorized Version the Cambridge University Press will publish in this series a *History of the English Bible* by Dr. John Brown.

A useful volume appears among the spring announcements of Routledge: *An Introduction to the Study of Local History and Antiquities*, by J. E. Morris and Humphrey Jordan. Dr. Morris is assistant master of Bedford grammar school and the work is the outcome of the 1908 circular of the Board of Education on the Teaching of History in Schools. The general arrangement is chronological and the volume is copiously illustrated with small photographs.

Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, in his life of *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster* (Cambridge University Press), studies the history of the abbey under the early Norman rule, the previous life of his subject at Bec, and his literary remains, edits intact for the first time the life of Gilbert by Heerluin, and prints early charters of Westminster and of St. John's abbey, Colchester.

John Lane has brought out *The Speakers of the House of Commons from the earliest Times to the present Day*, by A. I. Dasent. The book, besides its historical text, contains a portrait, so far as one is known to exist, of every speaker. There are also notes on the illustrations by John Lane.

The Selden Society is about to issue *Select Cases in the Star Chamber*, vol. II., 1509-1544, edited by Mr. I. S. Leadam.

The Utopia of Sir Thomas More (London, Bell, 1910) edited by Mr. George Sampson, includes an historical introduction, the Latin text of 1516, Ralph Robinson's second translation, 1556, Roper's *Life of More*, and the letters that passed between More in the Tower and his daughter Margaret Roper. An edition of More's correspondence is in course of preparation by M. Delcourt of the University of Montpellier.

Macmillans announce the publication of volume III. of Dr. James Gairdner's *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, to cover the reign of Edward VI. The volume will be prefaced by a reply to some criticisms of its predecessors.

The University Press, Cambridge, England, will publish in the autumn a work in two volumes by Mr. Champlin Burrage entitled *The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Researches*. The first volume will be devoted to history and criticism. The second volume will contain illustrative documents covering a period of about one hundred years.

The Cambridge University Press has published vol. III. of J. Bass Mullinger's *The University of Cambridge*; it extends from the election of Buckingham to the chancellorship in 1626 to the disappearance of the last of the Platonists soon after the Restoration.

A curious and extraordinary tale in English history is told by Professor W. C. Abbott of Yale University in *Colonel Thomas Blood, Crown Stealer, 1618-1680* (Yale University Press, 1911, pp. 98).

Henry Broxap's *Biography of Thomas Deacon, the Manchester Non-Juror* (Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, New York, Longmans), besides enlarging upon the knowledge concerning Deacon (1697-1753), throws additional light on the period of his career.

Herbert and Daniel have published in two volumes a translation of Paul Thureau-Dangin's valuable work, under the title *The English Catholic Revival of the Nineteenth Century*, the translation being by Wilfrid Wilberforce and Daniel O'Connor.

It is announced that Mr. Lucien Wolf has undertaken a biography of the late Marquis of Ripon, on the basis of private and official papers covering his whole public career from 1849 to 1908; he will also be able to use the papers of Lord Goderich, first Marquis, who succeeded Canning as premier in 1827.

Longmans has just issued *The Life of Viscount Goschen*, of great political interest for the period 1863-1907; it contains important unpublished letters of Gladstone and others.

Longmans will publish in the autumn a political memoir in two volumes of the late Duke of Devonshire by Bernard Holland, one of the

duke's secretaries. Considerable correspondence of interest will be inserted.

Constable, London, has published *Sir William Butler: An Autobiography*. Sir William Butler, who died in June, 1910, is described as writer, politician, and soldier. His life was full of variety and his memories extend from the Irish famine of 1847 to the present time. His fighting was not confined to the field of battle, and the book is largely occupied by the various controversies in which he was engaged. The chief of these grew out of his position as chief military commander in South Africa just before the Boer War (charged also with civil affairs in the absence of Sir Alfred Milner).

Messrs. Blackwood have published *A Short History of Scotland*, by Andrew Lang, intended to give results of the latest scholarship and to be intermediate in extent.

W. and K. Johnston announce *The Lord Chancellors of Scotland, from the Institution of the Office to the Treaty of Union*, in two volumes, by S. Cowan.

Several new books on Ireland are announced. The Macmillan Company have published Dr. Robert H. Murray's *Revolutionary Ireland and its Settlement*; Arnold will bring out *The End of the Irish Parliament*, by J. R. Fisher, covering the thirty years preceding the Union; the Oxford University Press, as we have mentioned, *Ireland under the Normans, 1169-1216*, by G. H. Orpen; and Elliot Stock has issued volume VI. of P. H. Hore's *History of Wexford*.

Professor Hugh E. Egerton's *Federations and Unions within the British Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1911, pp. 302) is a convenient volume of fundamental constitutions accompanied by documents which explain them and introduced by an historical account of the circumstances in which they arose.

The English Factories in India, 1634-1636, edited by Mr. William Foster (Oxford University Press, 1911, pp. 396), the fifth volume in this series of calendars, has just appeared.

Documentary government publications: *Chronological Index of Statutes, 1235-1910*; *Year Book of Edward III.*, year 20, part II.; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1677-1678*; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1701*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Constant, *La Transformation du Culte Anglican sous Édouard VI.*, II. *Tendances Zwingliennes et Calvinistes* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April); J. F. Chance, *George I. and Peter the Great after the Peace of Nystad* (English Historical Review, April); E. Dolleans, *L'Évolution du Chartisme, 1837-1839: Du Réformisme à la Violence*, I. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XXI. 3); J. M. Anderson, *The Beginnings of St. Andrews University* (Scottish Historical Review, April).

FRANCE

The Société Française de Bibliographie announces that it has undertaken the publication of the following works of historical interest: *Table des Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches*, by M. Lecestre; *Bibliographie des Traductions en Langue Française du XVI^e Siècle à la fin du XVIII^e*, by G. Regnier; *Histoire du Dépôt Légal*, pt. 2, by H. Lemaitre. The preparation of the second edition of Monod's *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de France* is announced as advancing rapidly and the first fascicule will appear this year.

MM. Édouard Cornély announce the completion of M. Pierre Caron's *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897, sur l'Histoire de France depuis 1789*, by the issue of the sections relating to economic and social and local history and the index. The whole makes a volume of nearly a thousand pages. The same firm announces the continuance of MM. Brière and Caron's *Répertoire Méthodique de l'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine de la France*, which had paused at 1903. A volume containing the product of 1904, 1905, and 1906 is in the press; another will bring this useful bibliography to 1910.

January 7, 1911, the Commission Supérieure des Archives, under the presidency of Professor Aulard, held an important meeting of which an account is given in the *Révolution Française* of February 14. Some important additions to the Archives Nationales in the near future were indicated and various reports made as to the progress of inventories and other archival aids.

The Institut Français of Florence, the director of which is M. Lucien Luchaire, professor at the University of Grenoble, announces for publication during 1911 the following studies: *Montesquieu et Machiavel*, by Levi-Malvano; *Un Condottiere Italien à Lyon au XVI^e Siècle*, by L. Caillet; *Le Problème du Baptistère de Florence et les Pavements du Baptistère et de S. Miniato al Monte*, by G. Soulier; *Relations des Ambassadeurs Florentins à l'Époque du Concile de Pise*, by M. Renaudet.

A. Rousseau, Paris, has just published volume I. of a *Histoire du Commerce de la France*, by E. Levasseur, intended to be complementary to the author's *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières et de l'Industrie*. The volume comes to 1789.

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons published in May in the *General History of Art* handbooks, *A History of Art in France*, by M. Louis Hourticque, inspector of fine arts for the city of Paris.

The Librairie Laurens has begun the publication of a series entitled *Petites Monographies des Grands Édifices de la France*, under direction of M. Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis. The volumes will be of 100 pages, illustrated, and will be the work of specialists; there have already appeared the following: *Le Château de Coucy*, by E. Lefèvre-Pontalis; *La Cathédrale de Chartres* (René Merlet); *Saint-Pol-de-Leon* (L. Th.

Lecureux); *Le Château de Rambouillet* (G. Longnon); *L'Abbaye de Vézelay* (Ch. Porée); *L'Hotel des Invalides* (L. Dimier); *Le Château de Vincennes* (F. de Fossa); *L'Abbaye de Moissac* (A. Angles). Similar monographs are in preparation for the cathedrals of Reims (L. Demaison), Lyons (M. Bégul), Auxerre (C. Enlart), Bourges (A. Bomet), and Coutances (E. Lefèvre-Pontalis).

The Société des Normands of Paris planned an extensive celebration, May 28-June 11 of this year, of the "Millénaire de la Normandie"; after a preliminary assembly at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, there was to be an exposition at Rouen with reference to the provincial history, a congress of historical and literary conferences in that city, a pageant and other features, with corresponding fêtes at Paris. The American Historical Association was to be represented by Messrs. C. H. Haskins and W. G. Leland; at St. Dié (celebration of Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiae Introductio*) by its president, Professor William M. Sloane. On account of the death of the minister of war the latter celebration has been postponed to July, and the former modified.

The next issue in the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne* (Paris, Cornély) will be *La Révolution de Février: Étude Critique*, by M. Albert Crémieux. This will be followed by *L'Organisation des Partis Politiques et leur Répartition Géographique en France en 1849*, by M. Gaston Génique; *Henri IV. et l'Europe pendant les Années 1609 et 1610*, by M. Vlastimil Kybal; *L'Anoblissement sous François I.*, by M. J. Richard-Bloch; and *Les Clubs de Barbès et de Blanqui en 1828*, by Mlle. Suzanne Wassermann.

The *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française* advances by the publication of several new volumes: t. IV. of *Procès-Verbaux des Comités d'Agriculture et de Commerce*, ed. Gerbaux and Schmidt; t. III. of *Documents relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux (Bouches-du-Rhône)*, ed. Moulin; t. II. of *Cahiers de Doléances de la Sénéchaussée de Rennes*, ed. Sée and Lesort (these three series already noticed in this journal); and a new work for dép. Cher, *Cahiers de Doléance du Bailliage de Bourges*, etc., ed. Gandilhon (Bourges, pp. 1, 812), with the usual method and apparatus.

M. A. Tuetey has published tome IX. of his *Répertoire Général des Sources Manuscrites de l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution Française*; it embraces the second part of the Convention (Paris, 1910, pp. cvii, 631). The documents enumerated are of the period March-September, 1793; as with the preceding volumes the historical introduction is of great interest.

The second fascicule of A. Mathiez's *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Révolutionnaire* is a brief study by the editor entitled *Les Conséquences Religieuses de la Journée du 10 Aout 1792: La Déportation des Prêtres et la Sécularisation de l'État Civil* (Paris, E. Leroux, 1911, pp. 52). The essential documents are printed as appendix.

M. Pierre Caron has begun the publication, under the auspices of the Société d'Histoire Contemporaine (Paris, A. Picard) of a series entitled *Paris pendant la Terreur: Rapports des Agents Secrets du Ministre de l'Interieur*. The reports are those of the "commissaires observateurs" established in 1793 and active till April, 1794; they were daily. Some have already been published but unsatisfactorily; more than 1500 are in existence. The present series will comprise four volumes, the first covering the period August 27 to December 25, 1793.

General Zurlinden (formerly minister of war) continues his studies in the military history of the Napoleonic age with volume II. of *Napoléon et ses Maréchaux*, devoted to *Les Maréchaux* (Hachette). Other recent additions to the military history of this period are A. Chuquet's *Quatre Généraux de la Révolution: Hoche et Desaix; Kléber et Marceau* (Fontemoing); and Édouard Gachot's *La Troisième Campagne d'Italie, 1805-1806* (Plon).

A new series has been begun by the house of H. Champion, Paris, under the title, *Bibliothèque de la Révolution et de l'Empire*, the first volume being entitled, *Lettres de 1815: Première Série*, by A. Chuquet, and the second (with the same editor), *Lettres de 1812: Première Série*. The contents of these volumes are of very varied character, but come mostly from the archives of the ministry of war; the first relates to the Hundred Days, the second to the Russian campaign. A similar collection by the same indefatigable worker in this field is entitled *Ordres et Apostilles de Napoléon, 1799-1815*.

Chatto and Windus of London have published *Men and Things of My Time*, by the Marquis de Castellane, the translation being by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. The recollections of M. de Castellane begin with the Second Empire and are of considerable interest for many of the chief personalities of the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has published volume III. of the collection entitled *Les Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-1871* (Paris, Gustave Ficker); it contains the diplomatic correspondence from May to July 31, 1864.

An interesting volume (illustrated) has been issued by Pierre Roget, Paris, *Les Chroniques du Château de Fontainebleau*, by Léon Deroy.

MM. Berger-Levrault of Paris and Nancy have issued the first number of the *Bibliographie Lorraine: Revue du Mouvement Intellectuel, Artistique, et Économique de la Région*. It is published by the faculty of letters of the University of Nancy as a section of the *Annales de l'Est*, which last year abandoned its quarterly form to appear instead in a section of annual bibliographical review and a section of irregular fascicule issues. The *Bibliographie Lorraine* assumes a special interest in view of the claim of the editors that it is "une nouveauté. C'est la première bibliographie régionale qui soit entreprise en France . . . C'est un acte de décentralisation". While the publication will be annual this first issue

reviews the literature for the period 1905-1910, covering both Lorraine and Alsace.

The administration of Algeria, which has recently organized the Algerian archives, has appointed a commission for the publication of an official *Collection de Documents inédits relatifs à l'Histoire Politique et Militaire et à la Colonisation de l'Algérie depuis 1830*. The main element in this will be the correspondence of the commanders-in-chief of the army in Algeria and of the governors-general. The first volume will appear in 1911 and will give the documents relating to the consulate of Captain Daumas, 1837-1839. Professor Yves, one of the members of the commission entrusted with this undertaking, has recently published in no. 270 of the *Revue Africaine* selections from the "Documents sur la Guerre Franco-Marocaine de 1844".

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Fagniez, *Fancan et Richelieu*, I. (*Revue Historique*, May-June); G. Lepreux, *Une Enquête sur l'Imprimerie de Paris en 1644* (*Le Bibliographe Moderne*, XIV.); L. Madelin, *Le Règne de la Vertu: La Dictature de Robespierre* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, February 15); O. Tschirch, *Die Naundorff-Legende* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CVI. 3); L. Abensour, *Le Féminisme sous la Monarchie de Juillet: les Essais de Réalisation et les Résultats* (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, March-April); E. Driault, *La Diplomatie Française pendant la Guerre de Danemark* (*Revue Historique*, May-June); G. Mollat, *Études et Documents sur l'Histoire de Bretagne* (*Annales de Bretagne*, XXV., XXVI.).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Commissions appointed by the Italian government are to prepare national editions of the writings of Michelangelo and of Leonardo da Vinci. The former will include some 800 letters to Michelangelo, chiefly from the Buonarrotti archives in Florence.

The Macmillan Company announce a new version of *The Life of Benvenuto Cellini* by Mr. Robert H. H. Cust of Oxford, described as differing from Symonds's by a greater degree of idiomatic raciness.

Giovanni Sabini is the author of a recent book that should be of considerable interest and usefulness, *I Primi Esperimenti Costituzionali in Italia, 1797-1815* (Turin, Unione tipog., 1911).

The issue of the *Rivista Storica Italiana* for January-March contains a general review by C. Rinaudo of the Risorgimento publications appearing in connection with the jubilee semi-centenary of the War of Independence. The ensuing issues will continue the review with reference to more special studies.

A general review of the archaeological discoveries and publications in Spain and Portugal from May, 1908, to May, 1910, is given by P. Paris in 30 pages of the *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* for 1910.

P. Boissonade publishes in the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, XXI. 3, an important general review of studies in the economic history of Spain.

The *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia* for November, 1910, contains an interesting review by Carlos Bratli of Danish writers of the last twenty-five years upon the history of Spain. It is accompanied by a full bibliographical list of much value.

Thirty-four years separate the fortieth and forty-first volumes of the *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon*, of which volume XLI. was issued in 1910 (Barcelona, tipografia de Benaiges, pp. xvi, 424), by the archivist Don Francisco de Bofarull y Sans. The contents are mainly the continuation (1392-1688) of a series of documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries dealing with *Gremios* and *Cofradias de la Antigua Corona de Aragon*. The Royal Academy of History has published vol. XIV. (1429-1430) of the *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragon y de Valencia* (Madrid, Fontanet).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Negri, *Le Missioni di Pandolfo Colenuccio a Papa Alessandro VI., 1494-1498* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXIII. 3-4); E. Rodocanachi, *Le Luxe des Cardinaux Romains de la Renaissance* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); Joseph Hilgers, S. J., *Bücherverbot und Bücherzensur des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien* (Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XXVIII. 3); J. A. F. Orbaan, *La Roma di Sisto V. negli Avvisi* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXIII. 3-4).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

An important aid to investigators is furnished in Heft 16 of the *Publikationen der K. Preuss. Archivverwaltung* (Leipzig, 1910), being a *Chronologisches Gesamtverzeichnis der Original-Ausfertigungen der Königs- und Kaiserurkunden des Königlich Preussischen Staatsarchivs und des Königlichen Hausarchivs bis 1439*, prepared by Dr. Reinhard Ludicke. The total number of the documents listed is 3253 and information is furnished not only as to the place of deposit, but as to any publication that may have occurred.

Two important monographs of wide interest have appeared in the *Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen* of Stutz (Stuttgart), viz., *Nationalkirchliche Bestrebungen im Deutschen Mittelalter*, by A. Werminghoff (Heft 61) and *Der Adel und die Deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter*, by Aloys Schulte (Heft 62 and 64).

Dr. Max Jansen has added to his *Studien zur Fugger-Geschichte* a third Heft, dealing with *Jakob Fugger der Reiche; Studien und Quellen*, I. (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot).

Methuen, London, publishes *The House of Hohenzollern: Two Centuries of Berlin Court Life*, by E. A. Brayley Hodgetts. It comes from Frederick I. to the close of the ministry of Bismarck and is popular in character.

The new edition of the *Correspondance* of Voltaire and Frederick II. in the *Publikationen aus den k. preuss. Staatsarchiven* has just been completed with the issuing of Part 3 of Band LXXXVI., containing the correspondence for the period 1753-1778, edited by R. Koser and H. Droysen.

A work of the highest importance to the student of military history in the Napoleonic period is *Die Befreiungskriege 1813-1815*, by Colonel Rudolph Friederich, chief of the historical division of the Prussian General Staff, of which volume I., *Der Frühjahrsfeldzug 1813* (Berlin, Mittler, 1911, pp. xii, 328) has just been published in handsome illustrated form.

The *Autobiography* of Richard Wagner will soon be published simultaneously in Germany and England (Constable); it will cover the years 1813-1864 and was written by Wagner in 1868-1873, mainly from notes kept continuously from 1835. The work was originally dictated to Frau Wagner, but publication has been delayed by the family for personal reasons.

Messrs. Duckworth, London, announce *The Letters and Diary of Count Charles Leiningen-Westerburg*, edited (and apparently translated) by Professor Marczali. Count Leiningen was executed by Haynau in 1849 and wrote the diary in prison.

The *Deutsche Rundschau* for March and April, 1911, contains an extended critical summary by Field Marshal Freiherr von der Goltz of the two volumes of *Denkwürdigkeiten des Prinzen Friedrich Karl* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1910). The volumes cover the period 1866-1885.

Dr. Ludwig Bernhard's *Die Polenfrage: das Polnische Gemeinwesen im Preussischen Staat* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1910, pp. xvii, 620), treats a difficult and controversial subject, from 1830 to 1910, with marked impartiality as well as competence.

Professor S. Riezler has published a third revised edition of his *Das Glückliche Jahrhundert Bayerischer Geschichte, 1806-1906* (Munich, Beck, 1910).

The Vienna Academy has published the second installment of Abtheilung I. of its *Historischer Atlas der Oesterreichischen Alpenländer* (Vienna, A. Holzhausen). This Abtheilung is occupied with *Die Landgerichtskarte*, and the new issue contains Lower Austria (edited by A. Grund and K. Giammoni), and Tyrol and Vorarlberg (edited by J. Egger and others).

Aus den Tagebüchern des Grafen Prokcsch von Osten, 1830-1834 (Vienna, Reisser, pp. 252), edited by Prokcsch's son, casts a flood of light on Austrian foreign policy in the period indicated, on its relations to the Rothschilds, on Metternich, and on Gentz.

Band IV. of the *Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, edited by Anton Mayer and published by the Alterthumsverein of Vienna, covers the period

from the close of the Middle Ages to the accession of Maria Theresa. (A. Holzhausen, pp. xii, 626).

Part I. of the second volume of the *Salzburger Urkundenbuch*, edited by Willibald Hauthaler and Franz Martin, contains 103 documents, covering the period 790-1072, accompanied by full notes.

M. Franz Heinemann, author of the *Bibliographie Nationale Suisse*, has published a new fascicule (V. 5) dealing with religious and ecclesiastical usages.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Hilliger, *Lex Salica: Epilog und Hunderttiteltext* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XIV. 2); Arthur C. McGiffert, *Martin Luther and his Work*, V., VI. (Century, April, May); V. Scherer, *Fürstliche Kunstsammlungen des XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* (Preussische Jahrbücher, March); H. Oncken, *Deutschland und Oesterreich seit der Gründung des Neuen Reiches, 1871-1911* (Deutsche Rundschau, April).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Miss Ruth Putnam has in preparation a life of *William the Silent*, which G. P. Putnam's Sons will publish.

The historical seminary of the University of Louvain has published separately a *Rapport sur les Travaux pendant l'Année Académique 1909-1910* (Louvain, 1911, pp. 397-504 of the *Annuaire* of the University). This report is a detailed statement of the work submitted in the seminary, though not necessarily published or intended for publication; it will consequently be of considerable interest to those conducting such work elsewhere.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The letters of Louisa Ulrica, queen of Sweden, *Luise Ulrike, die Schwedische Schwester Friedrichs des Grossen: Ungedruckte Briefe an Mitglieder des Preussischen Königshauses* (Gotha, Perthes, 1909, 1910, two volumes, pp. xxix, 400; xxxi, 519), edited by Dr. Fritz Arnheim, are an important source of knowledge for general as well as Swedish history, besides revealing more fully an interesting personality; but at present the publication extends only from 1729 to 1758.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Brinkmann, *Die ältesten Grundbücher von Novgorod in ihrer Bedeutung für die vergleichende Wirtschafts- und Rechtsgeschichte* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, IX. 12); L. Bril, *Les Premiers Temps du Christianisme en Suède*, II. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Grimwedel, *Die politische Wirksamkeit des Buddhismus* (Zeitschrift für Politik, IV. 2, 3); M. de la Mazelière, *Les Institutions du Japon Moderne* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Mr. David W. Parker's *Calendar of Papers in Washington Archives relating to the Territories of the United States (to 1873)*, a volume of about 500 pages, calendaring nearly ten thousand documents, is published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington soon after the time of issue of the present number of this journal. At about the same time, Mr. Parker completes, so far as Ottawa is concerned, his *Guide to the Materials for United States History in Canadian Archives*. Professor Frederick J. Zwierlein of St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, has made a supplementary inspection of the archives of Quebec, for insertion in the same volume. Professor Learned's *Guide to Materials for American History in German State Archives* is in the printer's hands. Dr. Charles E. Fryer of McGill University will make at London the inspection, now permitted by the British government, of the Foreign Office, Privy Council, and other papers from 1837 to 1860, in order to complete for this period the volume prepared by Dr. C. O. Paullin and Professor F. L. Paxson. Professor Charles M. Andrews, while in London this summer, will carry a stage nearer to completion his *Guide to the Materials for American History in the Public Record Office*, of which the first volume is expected to go to press next autumn.

We are glad to note that the Albany disaster has aroused in official circles in Washington fresh interest in the problem of a safe and proper housing of the government archives in Washington, and that the proposal for an adequate National Archive Building is under active consideration by Congressional committees. The position of the American Historical Association in respect to the movement having been more than once declared, it is proper to say that those who are interested in it from the historical point of view should write to their representatives in Congress before the next session.

Among the recent important accessions of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, are the following: the papers of Senator and Secretary John Sherman; the papers of Secretary Stanton; receipts for disbursements of the last specie fund of the Confederate States of America, from M. H. Clark, acting treasurer, 1865; a body of manuscripts of Colonel George Morgan, including letters, Indian speeches, and reports, 1775-1787; the papers of General George B. McClellan, given to the library by his son, Hon. George B. McClellan; a volume of dramas in the Aztec language, 1687; additional "Pickett Papers", being the correspondence and memoranda relative to the transfer of the "Pickett Papers" to the government, additional diplomatic papers, correspondence relative to the Confederate seal, and papers left by John T. Pickett; the Andrew Jackson papers, being the main body of manuscripts left by General Jackson and not embraced in the Blair papers already in the

library; additional Shaker manuscripts, including prayers, record-books, hymns, laws, and regulations of the Shaker Community in Ohio; a body of military and official letters and documents addressed to General Santa Anna, 1847; record of the proceedings of the Hague Arbitration upon the fisheries dispute (10 volumes); and miscellaneous papers of William Samuel Johnson respecting the Stamp Act Congress and the Constitutional Convention, 1765-1790.

The Albert Shaw lectures in American diplomatic history, at the Johns Hopkins University, will be given next spring by Professor Isaac J. Cox of the University of Cincinnati, whose theme will be the diplomatic movements centring around West Florida.

Volume VI., part I. (February, 1911), of the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society includes "Pierre Esprit Radisson", and "First Canadian Missionaries and the Holy Eucharist", by Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J.; "Register of the Clergy laboring in the Archdiocese in New York from Early Missionary Times to 1885" (VIII.), by Archbishop Corrigan; "Claudius Clavus, the first Cartographer of America" (with illustrations), by Rev. Joseph Fischer; and "Some Catholic Names in the United States Navy List", a series of brief biographies, by John Furey, U.S.N.

The principal paper in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* for March is by Rev. James Savage of Detroit, Michigan, on the Prehistoric Finds of Michigan. Twenty pages of the issue are occupied with the baptismal registers of Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia, for 1793-1795, transcribed by F. X. Reuss and edited by Rev. Thomas C. Middleton.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams will bring together a number of his studies of the military strategy in the War of Independence and of the naval and diplomatic history of the Civil War, which the Macmillan Company will publish with the title *Studies: Military and Diplomatic*.

Mr. Hannis Taylor's work upon *The Origin and Growth of the American Constitution* has come from the press (Houghton Mifflin Company).

A History of the American People, in four volumes, by J. H. Patton and others, has been published in Chicago by L. W. Walter Company. There is an introductory article on "True Americanism" by former President Roosevelt.

Mr. Reuben P. Halleck's *History of American Literature* (New York, American Book Company, 1911, pp. 431) is a well-proportioned text-book, sensible and interesting, and without great refinement of thought or manner will introduce young pupils well to a good acquaintance with its subject.

The reminiscences of George W. Smalley, for many years European correspondent of the *New York Tribune* and American correspondent of the *London Times*, have been brought out by the Putnams with the title *Anglo-American Memories*.

The *Journal of American History* has passed into the hands of the Allaben Publishing Company of New York and London. Mr. Francis T. Miller continues as editor of the *Journal*.

Hon. John W. Foster's address *The Foreign Wars of the United States* has been reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the conference of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes held in Washington, December 15, 1910.

The same society has issued as no. 4 of its publications *The Development of the American Doctrine of Jurisdiction of Courts over States* (pp. 67), by Mr. Alpheus H. Snow.

Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet's *Incidents of my Life, Professional, Literary, Social; with Services in the Cause of Ireland* (Putnam, pp. xxx, 480), contains many passages of historical interest scattered through the book.

The Library of Congress has issued a *Select List of References on Boycotts and Injunctions in Labor Disputes*, compiled under the direction of H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer, and twelve pages of *Additional References relating to Popular Election of Senators*. These references are largely to speeches of recent utterance in Congress, but include also articles in periodicals.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Mr. Warren K. Moorehead has brought out through Houghton Mifflin Company a work in two volumes upon *The Stone Age in North America*, an archaeological encyclopaedia of the implements, ornaments, weapons, utensils, etc., of the prehistoric tribes of North America. The work abounds in illustrations and includes a bibliography of the subject.

The Real Captain Kidd: a Vindication, which Messrs. Duffield have published, is by Sir Cornelius Neale Dalton.

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons have in press a work by General Francis V. Greene entitled *The Revolutionary War and the Military Policy of the United States*. In this volume General Greene proposes to study the Revolutionary war from a military point of view and to show how the policy was inaugurated of making a small body of trained soldiery the core of a large volunteer army. The author plans eventually to add other volumes treating the subsequent wars of the United States.

The Houghton Mifflin Company has published *France in the American Revolution*, by the late Hon. James Breck Perkins.

Mrs. Danske Dandridge, whose books *Historic Shepherdstown* and *American Prisoners in the Revolution* have recently appeared, is collecting material for a book which shall include biographical sketches of General Adam Stephen, General William Darke, Governor James Wood, and Robert Rutherford, and would be grateful for information concerning any of these persons. Mrs. Dandridge's address is "Rose Brake", near Shepherdstown, West Virginia.

David Zeisberger's *History of the North American Indians*, which was issued as a double number (January and April, 1910) of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (see the REVIEW for July, 1910, p. 946), has now been issued in book form as volume I. of *The Moravian Records*, "a series of volumes containing the more important journals, diaries and reports of the Moravian missionaries among the American Indians, 1767-1817", edited by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, pp. ii, 189).

Chronicles of Greater New York City during the War of 1812-1815, in two volumes, by R. S. Guernsey, has been brought out in New York by the compiler.

A brief biography of *Francis Scott Key*, author of "The Star-Spangled Banner", has been produced by his great-grandson, F. S. Key-Smith, and published in Washington by Key-Smith and Company.

Professor John S. Bassett's *Life of Andrew Jackson* will be published in early autumn (Doubleday, Page and Company).

The Northeastern Boundary Controversy and the Aroostook War, by J. F. Sprague, is published at Dover, Maine, by the *Observer Press*.

The United States Senate, April 28, 1911, ordered the compilation and publication of a document to contain all the proceedings of the Senate, including debates, reports, votes, etc., relating to the tariff of 1842; of another of similar material on the tariff of 1846; of another on that of 1857; and of a fourth containing the official material concerning the Canadian reciprocity treaty of 1854, and Professor Chalfant Robinson's history of it, the last being *Senate Doc. no. 17, 62d Cong., 1 sess.*

Harriet Beecher Stowe: the Story of her Life, by Charles Edward Stowe and Lyman Beecher Stowe, has come from the press (Houghton Mifflin Company).

The Presidential Campaign of 1860, by E. D. Fite, is announced by the Macmillan Company.

The late Rev. William H. Whitsitt, shortly before his death, brought out through the Neale Publishing Company a *Genealogy of Jefferson Davis, President of the Southern Confederacy, and of Samuel Davies, President of Princeton College* (pp. 67). The volume presents some new facts concerning the ancestry of Jefferson Davis.

The University of Illinois has issued *The Origin of the Land Grant Act of 1862*, by Professor E. J. James.

Mr. J. W. Rich's monograph *The Battle of Shiloh*, the publication of which in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* was chronicled in the issue of this journal for January, 1910, has now appeared in book form, bearing the imprint of the State Historical Society of Iowa (pp. 134). The work has received high commendation for its fairness and accuracy. Professor B. F. Shambaugh writes an introduction to the book.

The Wisconsin History Commission has brought out, as Original Papers no. 4, *The Chattanooga Campaign, with especial reference to Wisconsin's Participation therein* (pp. xiii, 255), by Colonel M. H. Fitch.

The Heroic Story of the United States Sanitary Commission, 1861-1865, by W. H. Reed, has been reprinted from the *Christian Register*.

A Sketch of the Life of Horace Greeley, with brief extracts from his Writings and Biographical Notes, by Jacob Erlich, has been brought out in Chappaqua, New York, by the Chappaqua Historical Society to commemorate the Greeley centenary.

Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts has prepared a volume entitled *A Quarter Century of Naval Legislation in Congress*, which has been published by the International Reform Bureau of Washington. The volume deals with the period 1888-1911 and includes extracts from bills, acts, and other documents relating to naval and social reforms.

The Life and Character of Edward Oliver Wolcott, late a Senator of the United States from the State of Colorado, in two volumes (pp. xi, 702; v, 803), by Thomas Fulton Dawson, is printed by the Knickerbocker Press for private circulation.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER.

A History of the New England Fisheries, by Raymond McFarland, is published by the University of Pennsylvania and Appleton.

The governor of Maine has re-appointed Rev. Dr. Henry S. Burrage as state historian. At the close of 1910 Dr. Burrage completed the work of arranging, pressing, repairing, mounting, card-cataloguing, and binding, and thus making available for historical purposes, seventy-eight volumes of the Civil War correspondence of the governors and adjutant-generals of Maine, and by the close of the present year he expects to complete the work on the remaining eighty volumes.

The commonwealth of Massachusetts has issued volume XVII. of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1910-1911, pp. 709), containing the resolves, etc., of 1761-1764.

The *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for February contains a paper on Commerce during the Revolutionary Epoch, by Professor Edward Channing, and one by Mr. Brooks Adams on the Convention of 1800 with France, the latter an elaboration of a legal brief. The March issue contains a paper by Mr. Frank B. Sanborn on Negro Slavery in Kansas and Missouri. Both contain memoirs of deceased members of the society: E. Winchester Donald, Morton Dexter, Edward J. Young, and John Noble. As we go to press, the society issues *The Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681-1708* (Collections, seventh series, volume VII., pp. xxviii, 602).

Labor Laws and their Enforcement, with special Reference to Massachusetts, by Charles E. Persons, Mabel Parton, Mabelle Moses, and

three "Fellows", edited by Susan M. Kingsbury, Ph.D., is the second volume of "Studies in Economic Relations of Women", produced by the department of research of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston (Longmans, pp. xxii, 419). The first chapter of the book (129 pages) relates "The Early History of Factory Legislation in Massachusetts", 1825-1874, and is by Charles E. Persons.

The American Antiquarian Society has received from Mr. Alfred Dwight Foster of Boston the manuscript journal of Dwight Foster (1757-1823), in three volumes, covering the period 1772-1799; also five volumes of his letters, of the period 1785-1819. Foster was a member of Congress from Massachusetts from 1793 to 1799 and senator from 1800 to 1803 and held other public offices.

The fire of March 28-29 in the State Capitol of New York was to American history a disaster of the greatest importance. Probably there never has been an occasion when so much valuable American material perished. Its lessons as to safe-keeping of priceless archives ought to make a deep impression on legislatures and custodians in other states. Although it is gratifying to learn that the Albany collection was not so completely destroyed as was at first supposed, nevertheless what has been saved is but a fraction of what the state possessed. A detailed statement, made from data kindly furnished by the archivist, Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, may be of use to investigators. It is reported that in all about 20,000 colonial and state documents have been recovered in a fairly good state of preservation. The highest percentage of salvage has been in the group of Dutch manuscripts relating to the period 1630-1664, 22 of the 23 volumes being saved. These include the council minutes, dating from 1636, most of the correspondence of the director-general, 1638-1655, and most also of the Delaware papers. The Dutch patents, 1636-1649, 1654-1664, escaped, but the Usselinx manuscripts, 1606-1646, were lost. Of the 80 volumes of other so-called "Colonial Manuscripts" 47 appear to have been saved. Fortunately many of the more important of these papers have been printed. Of the 28 volumes of council minutes, 1668-1678, 1683-1776, 20 volumes escaped, while ten volumes of executive records, 1664-1712, are almost a total loss. Of this material the legislative minutes of the council, 1691-1775, had been printed. Two of the most important personal groups of papers, the Sir William Johnson manuscripts (26 volumes) and the George Clinton papers (52 volumes) suffered even more severely, only four volumes of the former and ten of the latter collection being saved. The Johnson papers have been calendared and the first 16 volumes of the Clinton papers have been printed, although in a very inaccurate text. The minutes and papers of the provincial congress, etc., 1775-1778 (in all 38 volumes), for the most part perished, although portions of some volumes were saved in fairly good condition. These manuscripts have largely been printed. Of the 44 volumes of assembly papers, 1777-1830, only about 20 survived. Out of 55 volumes of papers relating to the Revolutionary War (1775-1800)

the contents of about 20 volumes were saved, while of 13 volumes of senate papers (1777-1803) only parts of five volumes survive. The minutes of the commissioners for detecting conspiracies, 1778-1781, likewise perished; the material is, however, well preserved in the excellent text of Mr. Paltsits. Out of 250 volumes of Henry Stevens papers (relating to the French and Indian War, the Vermont controversy, etc.) about 60 volumes have been saved, for the most part in excellent condition. Among the numerous losses may be mentioned the collection of colonial laws, 1691-1725, a mass of legislative papers dating from 1778, the assembly journals for the years 1699, 1700, 1740, 1766-1767, eleven volumes of land patents, 1680-1775, about 30 volumes of commissions, warrants, etc., and many other groups of papers. Most of the copies from foreign archives perished. Some papers escaped by virtue of being in a safe. Among them are the collection of autographs of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the Washington relics, the Duke's Laws, and Dongan's Laws. The proceedings of the Albany committee of correspondence, 1775-1778, were saved by being at the time in the office of the state historian. The Tompkins papers (36 volumes) are almost a total loss, only portions of ten or more volumes having survived. The most valuable part of the recently acquired Rensselaerswyck manuscripts, namely, the long series of Dutch letters, was practically all destroyed. Some of the materials of the collection that escaped are some early Dutch account books, the court record for 1648-1652, and some letter-books, 1643-1648, and 1661-1674. The great mass of unbound legislative files, 1777-1910, is practically a total loss, but the records of the War of 1812 (25 volumes, unbound) were all saved.

Mr. Victor H. Paltsits has for four years rendered distinguished services to the state of New York in the office of state historian, which he has elevated to a high plane and dignified with several admirable publications, models of governmental historical work. Governor Dix has, however, declined to reappoint him and has given the office to Mr. James A. Holden of Glens Falls, editor of a local newspaper. Mr. Holden's qualifications for a post which historical scholars must regard as highly important remain to be discovered; but he is entitled to be judged by his fruits.

The New York Historical Society has acquired a collection of thirty-eight manuscripts relating to Benedict Arnold, four of which are letters written by Arnold. In the collection are letters of Washington, Lafayette, Steuben, Robert Morris, Silas Deane, General Henry Knox, General William Heath, and others.

The *Report* for 1910 of the commissioner of records of Kings County, New York, contains a brief statement of what has been accomplished among the records under his jurisdiction, brief inventories of some of the records of the county, and some unsatisfactory facsimiles.

An interesting feature of the January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is a series of gossip letters of a French officer, written from Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1777 and 1778. The letters were intercepted by a British cruiser and were recently discovered among the records of the High Court of Admiralty in London. This issue of the *Magazine* contains also a letter (April 2, 1797) from Washington to General Henry Lee, one from John Greenwood, dentist, to Washington, written in December, 1798, some extracts from the journal of Surgeon Ebenezer Elmer of the New Jersey Continental line, September 11-19, 1777, and a letter of Joseph Russell, written from Boston in May, 1776, describing conditions in the city. General Muhlenberg's orderly book, 1777, is continued.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* for March contains an account of the "First Free School in Queen Anne's County", by Edwin H. Brown; "Baltimore in 1846", a paper read before the society in 1875 by Henry Stockbridge; and lists of colonial militia, 1740, 1748. The most important document in this number of the *Magazine* is a secret letter of Admiral Cockburn to Sir A. Cochrane, July 17, 1814, setting forth a plan for capturing Washington and Baltimore. The letter is among the Cockburn papers recently acquired by the Library of Congress.

Mr. Oswald Tilghman of Easton, Maryland, plans to publish a *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861*, in two volumes, to be compiled principally from the voluminous materials left by Dr. S. A. Harrison, who devoted a long life to the history of the locality.

The Virginia Historical Society has recently received the gift of about 65 large-scale maps of counties and sections of Virginia, prepared in 1862-1864 under the orders of Major-General J. F. Gilmer, chief of the engineering bureau, C. S. A. The maps give very detailed information, including names of owners of farms and the like, and are of high value for the study of the Civil War in Virginia. They were presented to the society by Mrs. Minis of Savannah, daughter of General Gilmer.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* begins in its April issue the printing of the minutes of the council and general court of Virginia from the originals in the Library of Congress, the period covered by this installment being 1622-1624. The editor of the *Magazine* supplies a valuable prefatory note, eleven pages in extent. An item from the Randolph manuscript is the commission of the general court, October 3, 1685. Among the "Miscellaneous Colonial Documents" are a writ for election of a member of the convention, December 6, 1775; instructions of the Fairfax County committee to their delegates in the convention, December 9, 1775; an advertisement by the agent of the Transylvania Company, December 1, 1775; and a petition of the inhabitants of Frederick County and others to the westward of the Blue Ridge, presented to the convention on December 20, 1775. Another valuable document is Colonel Scarborough's account of his efforts to suppress the Quakers in

what is now a part of Maryland, then claimed by Virginia. The report, once before printed but not now easily accessible, is from the records of Accomac County and is contributed by Thomas B. Robertson of Eastville, Virginia.

In the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* appears the third of the series of papers on the "Leadership of Virginia in the War of the Revolution", the first of which appeared in the issue for January, 1910. The writer brings the treatment down to 1776, discussing events as they revolve about the several crises, that of the "circulars", the affair of the *Gaspee*, the Boston Port Bill, and Independence. Mr. A. J. Morrison contributes an interesting account of the *Virginia Literary and Evangelical Magazine*, 1818-1828, describing the principal contents of the issues.

Mr. J. C. Wise has brought out through the Bell Book and Stationery Company of Richmond *The Early History of the Eastern Shore of Virginia*, a careful study of the institutions and social and economic conditions of that part of Virginia now comprised in the counties of Northampton and Accomac, from the earliest settlements by whites to the end of the seventeenth century.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* prints in the April issue an installment of the journal kept by Major John F. Grimké during the expedition conducted by General Robert Howe against the British on St. Mary's in Florida, May to July, 1778. Continuing his studies of the baronies of South Carolina, Mr. H. A. M. Smith gives a history of Wadboo barony. The "Register of the Independent or Congregational (Circular) Church, 1732-1738", prepared for publication by Miss Mabel L. Webber, and the "Abstracts from the Records of the Court of Ordinary of the Province of South Carolina, 1700-1712", by Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., are continued.

Books relating to the History of Georgia in the Library of Wymberley Jones De Renne, of Wormsloe, Isle of Hope, Chatham County, Georgia, compiled by Oscar Wegelin, has been privately printed in a limited edition. The book is a handsome quarto of 268, xviii, pages, with facsimiles, and forms a remarkable guide to Georgia bibliography.

Volume XI. of the *Publications* of the Mississippi Historical Society is announced for distribution as this journal goes to press. The volume contains two valuable contributions by Professor Franklin L. Riley, namely, "The Mississippi River as a Political Factor in American History" and "Location of the Water Boundary between Mississippi and Louisiana"; papers upon two Mississippi thoroughfares of historical importance, the Natchez Trace and Jackson's Military Road; also articles dealing with "The Mahew Mission to the Choctaws" and "The French Trading Post and the Chocchuma Village in East Mississippi", and six useful studies of reconstruction in Mississippi counties.

Mr. T. M. Marshall contributes to the April number of the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* a paper upon the Southwestern Boundary of Texas, 1821-1840, and Mr. E. W. Winkler an account of "Some Historical Activities of the Texas Library and Historical Commission". Other articles are: "Life of A. Horton and Early Settlement of San Augustine County", an autobiographical sketch by Alexander Horton; and "Micajah Autry, a Soldier of the Alamo", by Adèle B. Looscan.

The University of Texas has received from Mr. Guy S. Bryan, jr., of Houston and Mrs. Emmett L. Perry of Bay City additional papers of Stephen F. Austin and the papers of Colonel Anthony Butler, chargé d'affaires of the United States at the City of Mexico from 1829 to 1836. The Butler papers include numerous original letters, only copies of which exist elsewhere, and some letters of importance not elsewhere found. There are nineteen letters of President Jackson.

Mr. George Bird Grinnell's *Trails of the Pathfinders* (Scribner) is now out. The book tells the stories of the more important explorers of the West.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its annual meeting at Chicago and Evanston on May 17, 18, 19, and 20 in conjunction with the State Historical Society of Illinois and the North Central History Teachers' Association. The following were some of the papers and addresses: C. B. Coleman, "The Development of the Illinois State Constitutions"; F. I. Herriott, "Massachusetts, the Germans, and the Chicago Convention of 1860"; I. P. Wharton, "Abraham Lincoln's Early Connection with the Republican Party"; William E. Dodd, "Robert J. Walker, Imperialist"; M. M. Quaife, "Some Notes on the Fort Dearborn Massacre"; A. B. Hulbert, "A Comparison of some of the Source Material on Braddock's Campaign"; R. B. Way, "The Mississippi Valley and Internal Improvements, 1825-1840"; O. N. Carter, "Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas as Lawyers". There were also a number of conferences and discussions.

The January-March number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* comprises a translation from the Welsh of the Rev. B. W. Chidlaw's pamphlet *Yr American*, published in 1840. The title-page of the translation is: *The American: which contains Notes of a Journey from the Ohio Valley to Wales, a View of the State of Ohio, a History of Welsh Settlements in America, Instructions to Enquirers, before the Journey, on the Journey, and in the Country*. The pamphlet was prepared to furnish guidance to Welsh people emigrating to America.

The legislature of Indiana has passed an act providing for the initial steps toward erecting a building which shall house the state library and museum and also the educational offices of the state. It is designed that this building shall be erected as a "permanent memorial

for the centennial of Indiana's statehood", and the act constitutes the Indiana Centennial Commission to formulate the plans for the building and to select a site. Meanwhile Professor Harlow Lindley has investigated the condition of the state and local archives and has strongly recommended that provision be made for the permanent and proper housing of the state's records, and that all documents, both state and local, which are not in current use be placed under the care of the department of archives and history.

Mr. H. P. Comstock contributes to the March number of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* a brief history of canals in Indiana, and Mr. George S. Cottman, using the caption "History to Order", writes a note concerning the quick-process production of local histories for commercial purposes.

The trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library have appropriated money for the editing of a volume containing material upon the fur trade in Illinois during the years 1783 to 1830. The editorial work will be entrusted to Professor Clarence W. Alvord and Mr. Solon J. Buck of the University of Illinois. It is expected that the first volume of the George Rogers Clark Papers (volume VIII. of the *Collections*), edited by Professor James A. James, will go to press within a few weeks.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* includes in its April issue a biographical sketch and estimate, by Frank E. Stevens, of Alexander Pope Field, active in Illinois politics for about twenty years from 1822, later for several years in St. Louis, and from about 1857 to his death, in 1876, in New Orleans; a brief account, by J. W. Templeton, of the life and services of General Thomas J. Henderson, member of Congress from Illinois, 1875-1895; a paper entitled "The Burial and Resurrection of Black Hawk", by Dr. J. F. Snyder; and an appreciation, by William R. Sandham, of Hon. James H. Miller, "to whose initiative and labors in the Illinois general assembly must be largely credited the creation of the Illinois State Historical Library".

A History of Stephenson County, Illinois, by A. L. Fulwider, has been published in Chicago by S. J. Clarke.

Mr. A. C. Quisenberry writes for the May number of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* a sketch of General Zachary Taylor and the Mexican War and appends a roster of Kentuckians who served as officers in the war.

The governor of Michigan has unexpectedly vetoed the entire appropriation made by unanimous vote of both houses of the legislature for carrying on during the next two years the work of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.

Mr. Kenneth W. Colgrove contributes to the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* another of his investigations of "The Attitude of Congress toward the Pioneers of the West", earlier mention of which appeared in the issue of this journal for April, 1910

(p. 700). The present paper deals with the relations between the pioneers and the Indians in the period 1820-1850 and occupies 107 pages of the *Journal*. In the same issue Mr. C. R. Aurner describes at length "The Establishment and Organization of Townships in Johnson County". The article is accompanied by well executed maps.

The *Missouri Historical Review* for January contains the second paper of Judge John F. Philips on "Administrations of Missouri Governors", the subject of this article being Governor Willard Preble Hall. Rev. Joseph H. Schmidt contributes "Recollections of the First Catholic Mission Work in Central Missouri", and Professor E. M. Violette a paper on the battle of Kirksville, August 6, 1862. In the April number Professor F. H. Hodder has a valuable article entitled "Side Lights on the Missouri Compromise", Mr. T. J. Bryant contributes another paper on "Bryant's Station and its Founder, William Bryant", and Mr. Joab Spencer gives a sketch of "John Clark, Pioneer Preacher and Founder of Methodism in Missouri".

The legislature of Arkansas has appropriated \$5000 for the maintenance of the Arkansas History Commission. The commission will employ a salaried secretary who will devote his entire time to the work, entering upon his duties July 1. The legislature has also provided that the publications of the Arkansas Historical Association shall be a permanent charge on the printing fund of the state.

The *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*, the first number of which appeared in October, 1910, prints in its January number an instructive article by Professor O. G. Libby upon "The Correlation of Literature and History", and one by A. A. Bruce entitled "An Unwritten Chapter in the History of South Africa".

The *Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos of New Mexico*, by Adolph F. Bandelier, is no. 13 of the *Papers of the School of American Archaeology*. The "Bibliographic Introduction" has been issued separately.

Acquisition of Oregon and the long suppressed Evidence about Marcus Whitman, in two volumes, by Principal William I. Marshall of Chicago, has been published in Seattle by Lowman and Hanford Company.

Mr. Irving B. Richman's *California under Spain and Mexico*, in the preparation of which the author has utilized much material not hitherto drawn upon, has appeared (Houghton).

The American Book Company has issued *Public Education in California: its Origin and Development, with personal Reminiscences of half a Century*, by John Swett.

Number 6 of the *Publications of Canadian Archives* is a *Rapport sur les Archives de France relatives à l'Histoire du Canada* by Mr. J.-Edmond Roy (Ottawa, 1911, pp. iv, 1093), which upon hasty preliminary examina-

tion appears to cover in great detail the materials respecting Canadian history in the French archives, or, at all events, those portions of them which previous lists and Canadian official searches have brought to light.


The Ontario Bureau of Archives has in the press a volume on the Huron village sites associated with the missionary operations of the Jesuit fathers in the territory known to students of Indian lore as Huronia. The author is the Rev. Father Arthur E. Jones, S.J., F.R.C.S., whose labors in this branch of research have been long continued and exhaustive. Another interesting work announced by Mr. Alexander Fraser, the archivist, is the publication shortly of the Journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada from 1792 to 1804, now only available in manuscript. Those for the years 1795, 1796, and 1797 are missing. This will probably be the first of a series of volumes bringing the publication down to 1824, from which year printed journals are extant. The material thus to be given to the public will be of the greatest possible value to the official and student world as well as of wide general interest.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ch. de la Roncière, *Une Carte Française encore inconnue du Nouveau Monde* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXI. 5-6); Ch. de la Roncière, *Un Atlas inconnu de la Dernière Expédition de Drake* (Bulletin de Géographie Historique, 1909, 3); E. S. Maclay, *A Sea View of our Revolution* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March); W. E. Dodd, *John Taylor "of Caroline"* (The Nation, March 30); C. O. Paullin, *Early Naval Voyages to the Orient*, XI. *The Voyages to Japan of Commodore Biddle and Commander Glynn, 1846, 1849* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March); Edward S. Corwin, *The Doctrine of Due Process of Law before the Civil War* (Harvard Law Review, March, April); Colonel John S. Mosby, *Personal Recollections of General Lee* (Munsey's Magazine, April); Mrs. Burton Harrison, *Recollections, Grave and Gay*, IV., V., VI., VII., VIII. (Scribner's Magazine, April, May); Frank J. Cannon, *Under the Prophet in Utah*, IV., V., VI. (Everybody's Magazine, March, April, May); C.-Philippe Choquette, *Le Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe et les Événements de 1837-1838* (Revue Canadienne, May); José M. Calleja, *Historia de Santiago de Cuba* (Revista Bimestre Cubana, March-April); P. Migüélez, *La Independencia de México*, VIII., IX., X., XI. (La Ciudad de Dios, February 20, March 5, 20, April 5).

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